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The Catholic Historical Review

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CLERICAL TAXATION: THE SCOTTISH ALTERNATIVE TO DISSOLUTION OF THE MONASTERIES, 1530-1560

By

W. STANFORD REID*

One of the chronic diseases of the mediaeval Scottish body politic was financial anaemia. But at no time was this condition more acute than in the thirty or forty years before the consummation of the Reformation. In this, Scotland was not unlike a good many other countries of the time. As one of the consequences of contemporary economic change, the feudal revenues of most western European governments, even if not actually on the decline, were not increasing. This meant that these states which were not so fortunate as to possess resources of gold and silver, were obliged to cast around for other than feudal sources of revenue.[1] In England the Tudors were faced with this problem, and it was Henry VIII who came to the conclusion that its solution might be partially achieved by the dissolution of the monasteries.[2] Once he had broken with Rome,

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[1] Cf. E. J. Hamilton, *American Treasure and the Price Revolution in Spain, 1501-1560* (Cambridge, Mass., 1934), pp. 186 ff; H. Heaton, *Economic History of Europe* (New York), pp. 248 ff; W. H. Beveridge, *Prices in England from the 12th to the 19th century* (London, 1939), pp. 5 ff.

[2] By 1532 dissolution had already commenced. Cf. E. J. Davis, "The Beginning of the Dissolution: Christ Church Aldgate, 1532", *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* (London, 1925), ser. 4, VIII, 127 ff; G. M. Trevelyan, *English Social History* (London, 1944), pp. 104 ff.

therefore, full-scale expropriation of the monastic lands soon became a reality.

Henry, in his usual egotistical manner, however, was not content to take such action by himself. He felt that others should do the same. One of those who might be blessed in this way was his nephew, James V of Scotland. Consequently he continually impressed upon the poverty-stricken Scottish monarch the benefit of following a similar course. Yet, poor as the Scottish crown might be, for a number of reasons it was not prepared to expropriate church properties. At the same time its financial position was becoming increasingly difficult; and as the Church was the wealthiest body in the country, it was natural that the state should seek to obtain part of that wealth. If expropriation were not to be followed, the only other means of sharing the Church's riches was taxation. It was this method which the Scottish king decided to employ.

Before turning to an actual discussion of the taxation, however, it is necessary to understand something of the state of the Scottish government's finances, if we are to appreciate the full significance of its actions. For the fifteen years immediately following the disaster of Flodden Field (1513), the Scottish crown was in continual financial difficulties. By the large sums which James IV spent on his navy and other similar projects, the country had been seriously impoverished. This situation became even worse after his death, continuing to deteriorate until about 1530. Scotland, nominally ruled by a child, was the scene of continued conflict between baronial cliques; and whenever a faction succeeded in seizing the reins of power it dissipated royal lands and revenues in an effort to maintain its control.[3] James V, a mere pawn in the baronial game, was raised in poverty and neglect. The royal revenues were squandered, mounting deficits appearing year after year in the treasurer's and comptroller's accounts.[4] Indeed the financial records for much of this period have disappeared entirely, indicating the disturbed state of the coun-

[3] Cf. *A Diurnal of Remarkable Events that have passed within the country of Scotland* (Maitland Club, 1833), *passim*, for an indication of the anarchic conditions prevailing.

[4] George Buchanan, *History of Scotland*, ed. by James Aikman (Glasgow, 1837), I, 324; J. B. Paul, *Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1903), V, 145, 235. The deficit for 1517-18 was £ 2585 13 s. 1½ d. and for 1524 £ 3692 13 s. 1½ d.

try.[5] Thus the general condition of political chaos was very largely responsible for the crown's financial difficulties. But chaos such as this could only be restrained when financial stability was attained.

The political situation was not the only cause of the Scottish crown's financial embarrassments. The costs of government were increasing rapidly. Feudalism, which had hitherto provided the crown with its army and civil service, was beginning to break down. Feudal services were difficult to obtain, as a new method of holding land, feu-farming, was coming into vogue. In return for a considerable cash payment, land was being leased for a long term, even heritably, on the basis of a permanent rent. At the same time feudal casualties and services were very much reduced.[6] A cash relationship was thus substituted for the old feudal contract. Not infrequently, the crown, during a royal minority, was persuaded to feu lands to its disadvantage, and to the advantage of the group in power. This disappearance of the feudal services meant that the old system was becoming increasingly useless as a means of national defence and as a means of administration. Armies now were needed for more than forty days, and also had to be equipped with cannon and transport.[7] For this the old feudal method was useless. At the same time the expenses of administration were increasing rapidly. To take the place of the former feudal officials, new offices were being created, each incumbent having to be supplied with liveries and fees.[8] The desire also of the Scottish monarchs to emulate the style of the kings of France and England forced them to spend on such things as their wardrobe far more than the length of their purses warranted. All this meant a greatly increased expenditure from a decreasing revenue.

[5] *Ibid.*, V, xii, Accounts are lacking for September, 1518-June, 1522, April, 1524-August, 1525, August, 1527-August, 1529.

[6] I. H. F. Grant, *Social and Economic Development of Scotland before 1603* (Edinburgh, 1933), chapter V.

[7] The *Treasurer's Accounts* for the period show a very great increase in expenditure on the armed forces. Hereafter referred to as *Tr. A/cs.*

[8] A comparison of the number of royal household officials in the fourteenth century with those of 1507 or 1541, shows the increase which had taken place. Cf. Mary Bateson, "The Scottish King's Household, 14th Century," *Miscellany of the Scottish History Society* (Edinburgh, 1904), II, 31 ff., with ms. "Household ordinances of James IV" and "Payments made by the Comptroller and Treasurer to members of the Royal Household," Miscellaneous Household Documents, 1507-1547, General Register House, Edinburgh.

The lowered income was not merely due to the changing method of land-holding, but to other factors also. If returns from customs duties and burgh mails did not fall off, they certainly did not increase to any great extent.[9] Then, too, there was the problem of inflation. R. K. Hannay points out that between 1530 and 1564 the pound Scots dropped in value from 5 s. to 3 s. 4 d. sterling. Another computation is that between 1475 and 1565 the ratio of Scots to English money had fallen from 4 to 1 to 5 to 1.[10] Along with this went the fact that prices, for various reasons, were beginning to climb, further decreasing the value of the old fixed revenues.[11] The result was that financial disaster stared the Scottish monarchs in the face. Between 1520 and 1560 there were few years that they did not have a deficit in the government's operations, which might amount to as much as £4000 or £5000, a considerable sum for those days.[12] Thus despite loans from such financiers as Robert Barton of Over Barnton[13] and despite attempts to cut the expenses of the royal household,[14] the Scottish

[9] That feudal casualties fell off is indicated by the fact that the accounts of the chamberlain of Fife record the income for 1524-25 as £ 1761 and for 1541-42 as £1015 as well as victuals. G. P. McNeill, *Exchequer Rolls of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1895), XV, 104 f.; (1896), XVI, 192; (1897), XVII, 501. Customs collections from burghs such as Edinburgh increased greatly, but for smaller places such as Dundee or Dumfries they seem to have remained stationary. Burgh taxes or mails remained fixed. *Exchequer Rolls, passim.* Cf. *Acts of the Parliament of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1814), II, 424.

[10] R. K. Hannay, "On the Foundation of the College of Justice," *Scottish Historical Review* XV (1918), 36; D. Patrick, *Statutes of the Scottish Church, 1225-1559* (Scottish History Society, 1907), p. cxiv.

[11] The problem of price changes in Scotland during this period has never been studied. What was happening can be indicated by a comparison of prices 1473-98 and 1541-46: Steel 6 d. and 18 d. per lb.; a steel helmet 5 s. and 14-24s; a spear, 2 s. and 4 s.-9 s.; unskilled labor, 1 s. and 1 s.-1 s. 8 d. per day; oatmeal per boll, 11 s. and 37 s.; a carcase of mutton 2 s. 10 d. and 25s.; Scots black cloth, 5 s.-12 s. and 18 s.-20 s.

[12] *Tr. A/cs,* X (1913), 262-304; Account of Gilbert Earl of Cassillis, October, 1554 to October, 1555: Receipts £ 10,596, disbursements £ 15,321, deficit £ 4725.

[13] When Barton retired in 1531 the crown owed him 11,000 marks. R. K. Hannay, *Acts of the Lords of the Council in Public Affairs* (Edinburgh, 1923), p. 334.

[14] The attempts to curtail expenses are revealed in the various ordinances regarding the household issued by James IV and James V, 1507-1541. Misc. Household Docs (ms), Gen. Register House, Edinburgh.

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crown was usually, as Northumberland wrote to Henry VIII, "in great poverty."[15]

It was natural, therefore, that the question should soon arise as to possible sources of new supplies. In this matter the nobles would be relatively useless. Like the kings they, too, were suffering from diminished revenues. More important, they were in conflict among themselves and also with the crown. The Douglases, James V's chief *bêtes noires,* although in exile in England, had their supporters at court, always ready to cause the king trouble.[16] Coupled with this James himself seems to have treated his nobility with a high hand, as exemplified in 1540, when he summarily revoked all grants of land made by him during his minority.[17] Then, too, the barons suspected him of following too blindly the counsel of the clergy, to their detriment.[18] All this meant that the relations of the king and the nobility were continually poisoned by mutual suspicion. Thus the nobles were neither able nor too willing to help meet the crown's increasingly heavy expenses.

The only remaining source of income available was the Church. Since this body in Scotland, as J. D. Mackie states, "had a preponderant share of the national wealth", such a move was natural.[19] By looking to the Church, James was only following a trend already noticeable. Throughout the fifteenth century the Scottish kings had been seeking to obtain, by hook or by crook, control of the Church's wealth. This they had done to a certain extent by gradually gathering the power of nominating to benefices into their own hands, so that by 1513 they wielded a very large influence over ecclesiastical appointments.[20] Under James V, this practice was carried even

[15] *Letters and Papers, Henry VIII* (London, 1880), V, 4160. Hereafter referred to as *L. & P. Hen. VIII.*

[16] *Diurnal* tells us that in 1528 "the said kingis grace haid greit suspicioun of the temporall lordis, becaus thaj favourit sum pairt the Douglassis" (p. 12).

[17] *L. & P. Hen. VIII,* V, 595; J. Herkless, R. K. Hannay, *The Archbishops of St. Andrews,* (Edinburgh, 1913), IV, 59.

[18] Buchanan, *History,* I, 317; R. Keith, *History of the Affairs of Church and State in Scotland* (Spottiswood Society, 1844), I, 49.

[19] "Henry VIII and Scotland," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society,* Ser. 4, XXIX (1947), 101.

[20] R. K. Hannay, *Rentale Sancti Andree* (Scottish Historical Society, 1913), Ser. 2, IV, xi-xvi.

further. In 1526 (on the basis of a rather limited privilege given to James III)[21] James had parliament assert his unlimited right of nomination to all prelacies. In 1534 the pope was prevailed upon to give the king permission to make nomination within a year of vacancy, to all benefices worth 200 florins or over. During vacancy he could appropriate the fruits to his own use.[22] This was probably partially to satisfy James' demand for the creation of a resident *legatus a latere,* who would be able to provide to benefices as the king desired.[23] James, however, thankful for small mercies, immediately began to nominate a number of his illegitimate sons to various vacant prelacies. So assiduous was he that by 1541, though they were all minors, his four natural sons held three of the wealthiest abbeys, Kelso, Melrose, and Holyrood, and the priory of St. Andrews. James also endeavored to increase the revenue which he derived indirectly from these ecclesiastical foundations.[24] Yet even these additions to the royal revenues were not great, and never would be commensurate with the royal needs. Revenues larger and more systematically collected were needed to increase the crown's resources.

One possibility, of course, was that of the expropriation of the Church's property. In fact, as already pointed out, Henry VIII more than once suggested this plan to James. The Scottish king, however, was not in the position of a Tudor monarch. He was faced with a powerful and turbulent nobility who made life difficult. Consequently he could not afford to alienate his only other possible support, the clergy.[25] Moreover, it is possible that if he had attempted to follow Henry's plan, the nobles would have forestalled him, by appropriating the Church's lands before he could assert his authority. But there were two other reasons for James' hesitancy. For one thing he was still a faithful son of Mother Church; and on the other hand he had discovered a better way. As he pointed out to Sadler in 1541 concerning the monasteries: "What need I to take them to increase my

[21] *Acts Parl. Scot.,* II, 309.

[22] Keith, *Affairs,* I, 461 ff.

[23] *Tyningham Letter Book* (Ms., Gen. Reg. House, Edinburgh), April 6, 1530.

[24] *Caprington Letter Book* (Ms., Gen. Reg. House, Edinburgh) fol. 6, 104, 117; *L. & P. Hen. VIII,* XV, 753; XVI, 964; XVIII:1, 12.

[25] Hannay, *Rent. S. And.,* p. xxiii; H. & H., *Archbishops,* IV, 41-3, 49.

livelyhood, when I may have any thing I can require of them?"[26] Taxation might prove to be the solution.

Taxation had this advantage. It meant the possibility of tapping the Church's wealth, without destroying the reservoir from which it flowed. It required, however, more tact and address to obtain the taxes than it did to dissolve the monasteries.[27] For one thing, there were bound to be objections from the Scottish clerics if anything like a permanent tax were levied. In the second place, the papacy would not—indeed, did not—feel too happy about the Church having to pay large sums of money to the state. Even the nobility might object as they had their own friends and relations in ecclesiastical positions for the benefit of their own pockets. Thus there were a number of obstacles to raising a tax upon the Church. James, however, by 1530 well nigh desperate, was prepared to try anything.[28]

In his attempt to share the ecclesiastical wealth James was favored by the situation in Scotland. Ever since the beginning of the century, anti-papal sentiment in the country had been growing,[29] and since 1520 Lutheranism had been becoming increasingly popular.[30] By 1530, heresy was one of the churchmen's great fears, the dread of its victory in Scotland being communicated even to the pope. Moreover, to give point to the ecclesiastics' misgivings, it was well known that increasingly men gave little heed to the Church's censures. Even the clergy were relatively indifferent. Ecclesiastical obligations were not met, tithes could not be collected, and the Church's authority generally seems to have been disregarded.[31] If the Church was to retain its power it needed the civil authority's support, a support which it could obtain—at a price.

Affairs outside of Scotland were also helpful to James. Spain at this point was in a dominant position with virtual control over the

[26] A. Clifford, *State Papers of Sir Robert Sadler* (Edinburgh, 1809), I, 29-30.

[27] Hannay, *Rent. S. And.*, p. xxi.

[28] Hannay, "College of Justice," p. 36; R. K. Hannay, "A study in Reformation History," *Scottish Historical Review* XXIII (1926), 19; *L. & P. Hen. VIII*, V, 1460.

[29] *L. & P. Hen. VIII*, XIV:1 (1894), 843.

[30] A. Theiner, *Vetera Monumenta Hibernorum et Scotorum* (Rome, 1875), pp. 552, 553; *Tyningham*, April 6, 1530; *Caprington*, fols. 29, 76, 81.

[31] Hannay, "Reformation History," pp. 26-29; *Rent. S. And.*, p. xxxiv *Tr. A/cs*, VI (1902), 111; *APS*, II, 342.

pope. France and England, on the other hand, were attempting to overthrow Spanish power. Then, to add to the pope's discomfort, Henry VIII began pressing his demands for a divorce from Catherine of Aragon. Coupled with all of this was the growing Protestant revolt in Germany.[32] As the papacy was thus in a rather difficult position, it had to walk carefully in dealing with any of the princes of Europe, a fact of which James was by no means ignorant. With all these increasing problems on his hands, the pope was in no position to resist James' pleas for financial help, especially when they were based upon the claim that such aid would maintain the Church's ascendency in Scotland.

James' arguments were telling. He pointed to the actions of Henry VIII and to some of the European princes such as the King of Denmark, whom it would be easy to imitate. Up to this point, however, he had stood between the Scottish Church and destruction, the inference being that should he change his mind it would be a sorry day for the kirk. Thus it is not surprising that when he talked of taxes raised on church property, although there were doubts and qualms on the part of both pope and clergy there was little that they could do but acquiesce.[33]

Within the limits prescribed by the canon law, there were two ways in which taxation could be raised. Either the clergy could offer voluntary gifts to the crown in case of a national emergency, or papal consent to a tax could be obtained and the clergy forced to pay. Both methods and a combination of the two were employed by the Scots. Any idea of a permanent ecclesiastical tax does not seem to have been contemplated by the canon law. Yet this was the method of finance which James apparently desired, but was never able to bring to fruition. Despite his pressure, the canon law was maintained—at least in the letter, if not entirely in the spirit.[34]

The idea of an occasional tax to help the civil government in time of crisis was by no means unfamiliar to the Scottish ecclesiastics. In 1512 when preparing to join France against England, James IV had

[32] Hannay, "Reformation History," p. 19; "College of Justice," p. 46.

[33] H. & H. *Abps.*, IV, 43; John Knox, *The History of the Reformation in Scotland* (Wodrow Society, 1846), I, 83.

[34] H. Gee & W. J. Hardy, *Documents Illustrative of English Church History* (London, 1921), no. XXXI; *Corpus Juris Canonici*, Lib. Sextus, III, tit. 23.

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levied such a "spiritual tax."[35] Then, too, when the state had been in difficulties after James IV's death we find a tax "of the thirty penny" being demanded of the prelates. Since they were somewhat slow in paying up, we are told that letters of reminder were sent to them "in ane sharpar forme." In 1517 calls were again being sent out to the clergy for taxes.[36] How these were granted, or whether they were just levied, we are not told. It may have been that the government, taking advantage of the country's unrest, simply forced the clergy to submit to its demands. During the 1520's there is no further sign of levies on the Church. The clergy might well feel that now the crises were over, they were secure in their immunity.

The opening of the fourth decade of the century saw a change in the situation. James V, now of age, had taken up the reins of government. One of his first necessities was that of bringing the unruly nobles in the Western Isles to submission, the only means of doing this being force of arms, and force required money. Consequently James turned to the clergy, who in January, 1531, gave him a gratitude of £5000 "to be raisit apoun all kirkmen beand beneficiat of i^{c} li or abone, equalie eftir the raite and quantitie of thar beneficis." The clergy below the rank of prelates, however, demanded that their superiors should be required to pay the whole £5000, and they would bring in their own contribution.[37] The returns derived from this tax were, no doubt, disappointing, amounting to only £3457 2 s. 3 d. from both the burghs and the Church.[38] Apparently a good many of the clergy failed altogether to pay, as James was still trying to collect some time after the expedition was over.[39] This "gratitude," however, succeeded in revealing to James the unsatisfactory nature of his financial position, and seems to have determined him to obtain a more stable and regular form of income.

[35] *Tr. A/cs*, IV (1902), 351.

[36] *Ibid.*, V (1903), 36-37, 114-115, 124.

[37] *The Acts of Council*, pp. 346, 347.

[38] The tax on the burghs was levied during June and July, 1531. *Tr. A/cs*, V, 444, 447. The contributions of the clergy range from £12 paid by the precentor of Brechin to £400 paid by James Beaton who was Archbishop of St. Andrews and commendator of the Abbey of Dunfermline. *Ibid.*, V, 450-458. In certain cases the clergy were sued for their portion of the tax. *Ibid.*, V, 446.

[39] *Ibid.*, VI, 64; *Acts of Council*, p. 379.

In order to understand James' next move, we must turn aside for a moment to the question of his search for a queen. For some time he had been working on the question of marrying a lady who would bring with her a large dowry. As he, however, had only a somewhat cold and grim kingdom to offer, his success had not been noticeable. Various European princesss and noblewomen had been mentioned, but they had been either unwilling or unacceptable. At this point in the story, the one under consideration was the pope's niece, the Duchess of Urbino.[40] To accomplish his plan of marriage with the lady, James instructed the former regent of Scotland, the Duke of Albany, to proceed to Rome to negotiate for her hand. The wooing was compietely unsuccessful. Francis I, urged on by Henry VIII, succeeded in breaking up the whole plan; and James was forced to turn in another direction.[41]

Marriage, however, was not Albany's only objective. When the negotiations for the Duchess of Urbino were closed, he approached the pope with a request that the Scottish clergy be instructed to pay a permanent tax to the crown of £10,000 *per annum*. This proposal apparently shook Clement VII not a little. It would virtually bring the clergy under the civil power, and would also constitute a permanent alienation of ecclesiastical revenues. In considerable doubt, the pope dispatched a letter to the Scottish clergy requesting their opinion on Albany's proposal.[42] The papal action does not seem to have put a stop to the Scots' demands, and a week later, probably at Albany's request, the pope took steps to give James temporary aid in his financial difficulties. He issued a bull, pointing out that while he did not approve of civil taxation of the Church, yet on certain occasions, the clergy must contribute to the state's support. Such an occasion had now arisen, for Scotland was in imminent danger of invasion. Clement VII, therefore, called upon the clergy to pay to the crown three-tenths of all ecclesiastical fruits during the next three years. This meant that the clergy would have to pay each year

[40] The whole story of James' courtships and marriages has been given in E. Bapt, *Les Mariages de Jacques V* (Paris, 1889). This work has in turn been summarized in *Tr. A/cs,* V, xxi ff.

[41] The Tyningham Letter Book gives considerable material on the negotiations during this period, 1530-31.

[42] Hannay, "College of Justice," pp. 35-36.

2 s. on the pound of the assessed value of their lands.[43] It was the thin edge of a very dangerous wedge.

Almost immediately after the three-tenths were granted, Albany put forward a new proposal. He explained that for the proper administration of the law in Scotland, the crown needed a permanent high court or college of justice. Such an institution would be of undoubted value, not only to the civil authorities, but also to the Church, as it would ensure the enforcement of ecclesiastical discipline.[44] Therefore, James's envoy proposed that the college should be composed of a president and fourteen senators, the president and seven of the senators being clergy. In order that they might carry on their work efficiently, they should be exempted from taxation, and various other civil and ecclesiastical obligations.[45] This plan sounded very good, but there was a condition attached. The king did not have the wherewithal to finance the organization. He thought, however, that since the clergy were so vitally interested in the matter, they should be asked to make a regular annual contribution of £10,000 toward its support. It is significant that this sum is the same as that requested earlier by Albany; and what is more, since the amount needed for the college turned out to be only £1400, one cannot but suspect that the whole idea was nothing more than a subterfuge to obtain the £10,000 *per annum* without the consent of the Scottish clergy. But subterfuge or not, the pope succumbed to Albany's persuasions and the bull was published.

Why the pope took such action before the clergy, who were at the time considering the earlier request for £10,000 could reply, is unknown. Hannay thinks that perhaps Charles of Spain applied some pressure.[46] Perhaps it was also a consolation prize to James for having unsuccessfully wooed the Duchess of Urbino; or it may have been to persuade James not to follow the actions of his uncle, Henry Tudor. Whatever the reason, the bull was promulgated on September 13, 1531.

[43] *Ibid.*, pp. 36-37.

[44] In this connection a law was enacted in July, 1535, making those who refused to submit to church censures within forty days, liable to confiscation of goods. *APS*, II, 342.

[45] The exemptions were duly ratified by the Lords of the Council, 1532-33. *Acts of Council*, pp. 378, 398.

[46] *Diurnal*, p. 15; Keith, *Affairs*, I, 467 ff.; Hannay, "Reformation History," p. 23; College of Justice," p. 34 ff.

When added to the grant of the three-tenths, this contribution from the clergy would raise the tax on the pound of assessed value of the land from 2 s. to, perhaps, four times that amount.[47] One can, therefore, well imagine the clergy's reaction. Both Buchanan and the *Diurnal* say that there was strong opposition, led by Gavin Dunbar, Bishop of Aberdeen. Northumberland, on the other hand, implied that while the Bishops of Glasgow, Aberdeen, and Dunkeld were not too strongly opposed, the Archbishop of St. Andrews headed the opposition.[48] But no matter how they might dislike the tax, the clergy were in no position to make an outright refusal. Instead they dispatched an appeal to Rome, and opened negotiations at home with the king. Meanwhile, James, on the strength of the papal bull, proceeded to regard the Court of Session, which was part of his Council, as the College of Justice. He would now be able to pay his council, instead of having to depend upon the old feudal system which allowed the tenants-in-chief to attend when they desired.[49] In this way the clergy were faced with a *fait accompli*, which no doubt had a great influence on the outcome of the negotiations.

In the final settlement which was reached, the clergy agreed to turn over to the College of Justice enough vacant benefices, to bring in annually the sum of £1400, and also agreed to give the king a donation of £72,000 during the following four years. To this James agreed, renouncing all claims to the original £10,000 *per annum*. A papal bull was then issued in confirmation.[50] James, for his part of the bargain, had certain obligations to meet. They involved the question of the Church's security, and in 1532 James took

[47] These three-tenths, of course would last for only three years. Buchanan, *History*, I, 306, 307; *Diurnal*, pp. 15-16; *L. & P. Hen. VIII*, V, 1286. Hannay, "College of Justice," p. 37, referring to *Tr. A/cs*, VI, 141 f., holds that the "Great Tax" required 3 s. 3 d. over and above the 2 s. for the tenths. He has reckoned this on the basis of Arbroath's total contribution for one term, and has assumed that there were but two terms to the year. But the accounts would seem to indicate that there were three terms which would raise the "Great Tax" to 5 s. 10½ d. on the pound of assessed value. The assessed value was based upon Bagimond's Roll, drawn up in 1275.

[48] Buchanan, *loc. cit.; Diurnal, loc. cit.; L. & P. Hen. VIII loc. cit.*

[49] In May, 1532, the Acts of the Lords of the Council change to the Acts of the Lords of the Council and Session. (Ms., Gen. Reg. House, Edinburgh) cf. Buchanan, *loc. cit.*

[50] Keith, *Affairs*, I, 467 ff.; Hannay, "Reformation History," p. 24-25; "College of Justice," p. 39.

action to fulfill the requirements. In May parliament enacted a law forbidding the passing of any laws in the future against the papal see. A little later action was taken to enforce ecclesiastical censures, and persecution of heretics was redoubled. Indeed, so submissive was James, that it was reported that the papal legate, who had recently come to Scotland, could do as he pleased in the country.[51] But it was all well worth the price, for James had been successful in his first attempt to tap the Church's wealth.

Although up to this point James had been victorious, his victory was actually only on paper. The next big problem was to collect the money. To do this successfully, the king needed the Church's good will and the faithful implementation of the clerical promises. It was at this point that there soon occurred a breakdown. For one thing, under the influence of Charles V, James had been manifesting growing animosity towards Henry VIII, so that there arose some fear of war between the two countries. To such a policy, Archbishop James Beaton, who had been involved in the conflict over the taxation, was strongly opposed. Probably in the interests of peace, he wrote Henry VIII, and as a result found himself arrested on charges of treason.[52] Action such as this on the part of James in incarcerating the primate, would not accelerate the collection of the clerical tax. Moreover, there was the problem of the tax compromise itself. The clergy had not ratified it, they had not assigned the required benefices; nor had any decision been made as to the means by which the college was to be supported until the assigned benefices fell vacant.[53] Consequently, the actual collection of the tax was not overly successful.

When we try to trace down the actual collection at this point, we find that it is no easy matter. The *Treasurer's Accounts* do not usually specify what the taxes were which were collected from the spirituality. We do know, however, that for three terms, 1532-33, the clergy paid some £16,440, the largest contribution for one term being £530 from Arbroath. The account containing these figures seems

[51] *APS*, II, 334, 341, 342; *L. & P.* VIII, V, 1110; Hannay, "Reformation History" p. 29.

[52] H. & H., *Abps.*, III, 2823, 231; Hannay, "College of Justice," p. 41; *L. & P. Hen. VIII*, VI (1882), 1069; A. Teulet, *Papiers d'état relatives à l'histoire d' Ecosse* (Paris), I, 95.

[53] Cf. Hannay, "College of Justice," p. 41; R. K. Hannay, "The Church Lands at the Reformation," *Scottish Historical Review* XVI (1919), 54.

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to include both the tax of three-tenths, and the "Great Tax" of £72,000.[54] From this time on, the collection of the money seems to have become increasingly difficult. By 1534 the total obtained had declined to £7605. Summonses were issued to various prelates to force them to pay up, while some, like the Prioress of North Berwick were actually cursed for non-payment.[55] Some of the clergy tried to have James release their obligations, while others simply could not satisfy the demands.[56] By 1536 the situation had deteriorated even further.[57]

The use of the money obtained is also something which must be considered, and it would look as though very little actually went to the remuneration of the senators of the College of Justice. In 1533 seven of the members of the college received their salaries, but from that date on, payments disappear from the *Treasurer's Accounts.* Instead the taxes seem to have been used for meeting diplomatic expenses, for repaying loans, for building fortresses, and for purchasing munitions, as well as for meeting various other incidental demands on the exchequer.[58] This use of the funds, coupled with the fact that the taxes were being paid with increasing reluctance by the clergy and that little if any revenue was being paid by ecclesiastical benefices to the College of Justice, threatened to bring the creaking machinery of administration to a stop. Definite steps had to be taken to make the government function properly, and this could be done only by straightening out the financial tangle.

In order to meet this situation, the Lords of the Articles now called upon parliament to convene a council of the clergy. The estates responded to the request by setting March 1, 1535-6, as the date, and by instructing the Archbishop of St. Andrews to summon the clergy. Beaton, although still nursing the wounds inflicted by James, agreed.[59] It was probably in order to forestall too much criticism by the king that Sir George Marshall, treasurer for the Diocese of Aberdeen, appeared on January 17, 1535-6, before the Lords of the

[54] *Tr. A/cs,* VI, 143-150.

[55] *Ibid.,* 50, 111, 151, 152, 166, 224, 364.

[56] *Acts of the Council,* 379; *Tr. A/cs,* VI, 227-231.

[57] *Ibid.,* VI, 306.

[58] *Ibid.,* 151, 226-37, 306.

[59] *APS,* II, 342; Patrick, *Statutes,* pp. 238 ff.; Hannay, "College of Justice," pp. 42, 43.

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Council and Session with a list of the benefices assigned by some of the prelates.[60] There was, however, the difficulty that few if any of these benefices were vacant. The main work of the Church council, therefore, was to determine how the College of Justice was to be supported until the benefices were producing revenues. It would seem that at first the clergy were inclined to be unco-operative; but, according to the Earl of Angus, James threatened them with dire things if they would not contribute directly until the benefices were available.[61] In this connection James received help from Henry VIII, who in November, 1535, asked him for an interview. About the time that the council was meeting, Lord William Howard appeared in Scotland to make final plans. When the clergy also considered that James, so Keith tells us, had been talking about their reform, and particularly the "reform" of their lands, they may have seen the hand-writing on the wall. It was not surprising, therefore, that they agreed that until the assigned benefices were vacant, the prelates should pay a direct tax equivalent to the value of the benefices, to the support of the College of Justice.[62]

R. K. Hannay speaks as though the three-tenths, the composition for the £10,000 and the amounts due on behalf of the benefices were the only sums which the clergy had to pay at this time. We find, however, that in 1533 when there was fear of war with England, James called upon the clergy to provide footmen, or money for them, to defend the borders.[63] Two years later, in July, 1535, the clergy were called upon to provide part of the funds needed to pay for the ambassadors going to France to negotiate James' marriage with a French princess. A total of £6000 was to be raised from the barons, the lords spiritual, and the burghs.[64] The clergy were also obliged to help finance James when he himself went to France to consummate his marriage with Princess Madeleine. We are not told the total amount required for this purpose, but the Archbishop of Glasgow paid £66 13 s. 4 d., the Abbot of Holyrood £88 6 s. 8 d.,

[60] *Acts of the Council*, p. 448.

[61] *State Papers, Henry VIII*, IV (1836), 667. The dating which is here given as 1534, would seem to be a mistake for 1536. There is no evidence that a council was held in 1534.

[62] *Diurnal* p. 19; Keith, I, *Affairs* 41, 42; *Acts of Council*, p. 503.

[63] *Tr. A/cs*, VI, 128-9; *Register of the Great Seal of Scotland*, III, 1330.

[64] *APS*, II, 342.

and the others in proportion.[65] Thus the clergy during the period 1532-1537 were faced with a considerable burden of taxation, although it is hard to state what proportion of their annual income was thus employed.

Because of the considerable portion which the taxes took from clerical incomes, it is not difficult to understand that even after the meeting of the ecclesiastical council, tax collecting was no easy operation. We find, for instance, that the tax for the ambassadors to France was only partially paid on time.[66] It was still being collected in 1537. By the latter date, indeed, all the taxes seem to have been collected at once, although a distinction was made between the "old tax" which was the former "Great Tax," and the "new tax" granted for James' expenses in France.[67]. In 1540 we find the Abbot of Melrose being ordered to pay £159 as a portion of his obligation for the "Great Tax," the three-tenths and the tax granted for the king's visit to France.[68] In the following year action was taken against the Archbishop of St. Andrews who was also commendator of Arbroath. He had never paid the sums which he owed to the College of Justice for the assigned benefices.[69]

As a result of such constant vigilance on the part of royal officials, the money slowly but gradually came in. Although we cannot always estimate the full returns, we do know for instance, that in 1536-37 the income from ecclesiastical taxes amounted to some £10,000.[70] That these sums of money were not applied to the purposes originally intended, even the College of Justice, is quite clear. From 1537 on, the Master of Works seems to have been the principal recipient of the clergy's taxes, using them to finance James' building projects, such as the palaces at Falkland and Holyrood.[71]

While it was obvious that such misuse of funds was taking place, little could be done about it. Archbishop David Beaton warned the Scottish agent at Rome, that no action should be taken "that

[65] *Tr. A/cs,* VI, 245.

[66] *Ibid.,* VI, 245, 296.

[67] *Ibid.,* VI, 359 ff.

[68] *Acts of Council,* pp. 488, 490, 491.

[69] *Ibid.,* p. 503.

[70] *Tr. A/cs,* VI, 296, 361.

[71] *Ibid.,* VI, 362 ff.; *Acts of the Council,* p. 493; Hannay, "College of Justice," p. 45.

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may any ways irritate the king's majesty incontrare the liberty of the holy kirk, considering the time is perillous, and regard must be had wisely thereto." [72] It was only too clear that James knew his power. When Sir Ralph Sadler appeared on behalf of Henry VIII to persuade James to dissolve the monasteries, the latter replied confidently that the clergy would give him whatever he wanted without complaint.[73] There was no need to follow Henry's example, for the clergy did not dare to resist his demands for taxation.

This statement James was soon to prove, by letting it be known that he was considering the possibility of visiting Henry in England. Such news, quite naturally, disturbed the clergy immensely, and they were prepared to offer him any inducement to stay away from the English king.[74] James, thereupon, acquiesced but pointed out that, by reason of his refusal, Henry would be very angry and he would need to prepare to defend the country. This meant that the clergy, who had stopped him from going, would have to provide a permanent tax.[75] Here again, we see James' desire to have the clergy make an annual contribution to the crown. In answer to his demand, the ecclesiastics gave him a free gift of £5000 as a temporary measure, at the same time requesting the pope to sanction the king's original demand. Cardinal Beaton, however, who was charged with the negotiations, apparently succeeded in having the pope postpone any such commitment.[76] As the situation grew worse, however, James by his importunities succeeded in forcing Paul III to grant him six-tenths for two years to help in the defence of the country.[77] That the pope would grant such a tax, indicates how fearful he was of possible developments in Scotland.

The Scottish Church as well as the pope, had plenty of cause for worry. Henry VIII, in high dudgeon because James had refused his invitation, was preparing to invade Scotland. Although the clergy

[72] H&H, *Abps.*, IV, 41-43; Clifford, *Sadler's Papers*, I, 14.

[73] *Ibid.*, I, 17.

[74] *L. & P. Hen. VIII*, XVI (1898), 1130, 1143; Knox, *History*, I, 77; Buchanan, *History*, I, 318.

[75] Hannay, *Rent. S. And.*, p. xxii; *L. & P. Hen. VIII*, XVI, 719.

[76] *Ibid.*, XVI, 990, 1288; H. & H., *Abps.*, IV, 63. The contribution of St. Andrews for one term was £ 172, and for Arbroath £ 206. *Rent. S. And.*, p. 143. Apparently the clergy were not too eager to pay. H. & H, *Abps.*, IV, 228; *Tr. A/cs*, VIII (1908), 185.

[77] *L. & P. Hen. VIII*, XVII:1 (1901), 31, 319.

were not too sorry at this turn of events, the nobles, many of whom inclined to Lutheran views, were not so sure.[78] The outcome was almost a complete break between James and the nobility. Feeling that James was being run by the clergy in their own and France's interest, the nobles refused to support the king in the threatened conflict. The clergy accused a number of the barons' leaders of heresy, but this accomplished nothing. James then attempted to defeat Henry's forces without the barons' aid; but the only result was the fiasco of Solway Moss. In despondency over his failure King James died of a broken heart.

The demise of the king immediately raised the hopes of Henry VIII and the Scottish Protestants. But they soon died out when the regent, the Earl of Arran, threw in his lot with the Roman Catholic group headed by Cardinal David Beaton and the queen mother, Mary of Guise.[79] The clergy now came forward with an offer of £10,000, and promised if necessary to melt down their plate to help defeat the English. The Church's offer was promptly accepted and all clergy holding benefices worth more than £40 were ordered to pay.[80] Apparently they had not yet received word of the papal grant of the six-tenths. Shortly afterwards, Cardinal Grimani, who had been sent by the pope to see to the collection of the tenths, reported to Rome that the financial situation in Scotland was very bad. He stated that he had not mentioned the pope's gift to the crown, as such demands upon the clergy would only make them despair. Protestants were despoiling the benefices with the result that the clergy could not make full use of the fruits. The only hope of financial aid was to be found in the pope or in the King of France.[81] This testimony to the growing poverty of the Church is borne out by the fact that a very considerable portion of the emergency tax of £10,000 had not been paid three years after it was granted (1545).

Despite the clergy's increasing difficulty in meeting the taxes imposed upon them, they were granted little relief. The regent's household

[78] Keith, *Affairs,* I, 49; Buchanan, *History,* I, 318; Knox, *History,* I, 77 ff.

[79] *L. & P. Hen. VIII,* XVIII:1, 364.

[80] *Ibid.,* XVIII:1, 572; Patrick, *Statutes,* pp. 243, 245 ff.; Hannay, *Rent. S. And.,* p. xxviii.

[81] *L. & P. Hen. VIII,* XVIII:2 (1902), 299, 454, 471-72.

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was more costly than that of James V,[82] and besides, during 1543 and 1544 the English raided far into Scotland, even burning Leith and Edinburgh. The clergy, who were largely responsible for this conflict, found themselves faced with the necessity of digging down deeper into their purses. During the latter part of 1544, a tax of £26,000 was imposed upon the country, the clergy being held liable for half. This was to be paid without prejudice to the earlier £10,000.[83] Then in October, 1545, £16,000 was ordered levied, "devidit and taxt conform to the auld taxationis," probably meaning that the clergy would pay half the amount. Thus between 1543 and 1545 the ecclesiastics were faced with new taxation amounting to some £31,000 which would run to well over three-tenths.[84]

While such taxation today does not sound unusually onerous, we must remember that it was relatively high, particularly when money was scarce. What is more, the clergy were also faced with arrears of taxation due from the preceding decade. As early as 1541 the Lords of the Council were taking action against clergymen who had failed to pay their three-tenths granted in 1531, the "Great Tax" or the tax granted to the king while in France.[85] They also attempted to settle finally the still controversial problem of the support of the College of Justice. As mentioned above, some of the clergy were not meeting their obligations pending the vacation of the assigned benefices. In the case of others, complications had arisen.[86] To deal with this, in January, 1546, the Lords of the Council drew up a list specifying all the amounts due from the various prelacies. Yet either they were not capable of enforcing payment, or the money was misused, for in the following May, the Lord of the Session "concludit nocht to remain without thai gett . . . payment for thar laubouris,"[87] The payment of these arrears coupled with the new levies required was a heavy burden for the clergy.

There was, however, still no relief in sight. On May 29, 1546,

[82] *APS*, II, 424.

[83] *Ibid.*, II, 461; *L. & P. Hen. VIII*, XIX:1 (1903), 314, 709; *Tr. A/cs*, VIII (1908), 352; Patrick, *Statutes*, p. 248 ff.

[84] *APS*, II, 460; J. H. Burton, *Register of the Privy Council of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1877), I, 19.

[85] *Acts of Council*, pp 502, 509.

[86] *Ibid.*, pp. 497, 498, 503.

[87] *Ibid.*, pp. 541, 548.

Cardinal Beaton was assassinated in his Castle of St. Andrews. At first Arran hoped that the perpetrators of the deed would surrender the castle without a fight, but when in August he realized that this would not be done he called upon the Estates for action.[88] The clergy, who were very much interested, consented to pay £3000 a month for four months, and the same amount for every month the siege lasted beyond that time. The sum of £6,000, two months' instalments, was to be paid immediately.[89] The council then proceeded to collect the taxes, even issuing letters of "horning" against delinquent clergy; but how much they obtained we do not know.[90] When one considers the easy-going fashion in which the siege was conducted, one cannot but suspect that little of the money was employed for the purpose specified. Beaton's murder was another good chance to mulct the clergy.

The Castle of St. Andrews having fallen to French arms in July, 1547, the Protector Somerset, who had been considering the relief of the castle, led an English force into Scotland to aid the anti-Arran faction. The Scottish government was again faced with the problem of raising an army, and as a result turned to the clergy for funds.[91] To meet the demand some of the clergy, along with the nobility, attempted to take a relief from their tenants on the basis of feudal law, but this was forbidden and ordered repaid. A tax of £35,000 was to be levied, the clergy paying £15,000.[92] Even this did not help too much, for we find the clergy three weeks later (July 24, 1547) advancing £5,000 to the regent, who at the same time called upon them for another £600 to help provide a garrison for Dundee.[93] By January, 1549, these taxes were either used or uncollected, and the clergy were being summoned to "gif consent to ane new taxt," this time for £30,000.[94] This levy seems to have

[88] H. & H., *Abps.*, V, 31, 32; *APS*, II, 470-472.

[89] Herkless and Hannay state that they promised to pay only £12,000, but from *APS*, II, 472, it would seem to be much more.

[90] *Acts of Council*, pp. 557, 559, 573; *Tr. A/cs.* IX (1911), 40.

[91] H. & H., *Abps.*, V, 38-39.

[92] *Register of the Privy Council*, 1, 75. The old law had called for the provision of one armed man for each seven mark land, old extent. Insistence on this would certainly alienate popular feeling from the Church.

[93] *Ibid.*, I, 79-80.

[94] *Tr. A/cs*, IX, 275; *Acts of Council*, p. 583; *Register of the Privy Council*, XIV (1898), 7.

been no easier to obtain. By this time the whole tax system must have been in absolute chaos, so that little or nothing could be collected. It may have been for this reason, that the law of 1547 imposing the tax of £35,000 was repeated, the clergy being now obliged to pay £16,000, although credit was given for any payment already made on the earlier £15,000.[95] Then in sheer desperation it was decided to revert to the old feudal levy of armed men, half of the £30,000 tax of 1549 being remitted.[96] Finally in March, 1550, the clergy were taxed again, this time for £4,000, the promise being given that they would not be asked for further contributions for a year.[97] By this time the clergy may have been thinking that expropriation would have been less painful. With the government in its panic piling up tax after tax, they must have wondered when the end would come.

For the next three or four years, England ignored the Scots, the result being that the need for heavy taxation declined. In January, 1554-5, however, it was decided that a fort should be established at Kelso at the cost of £20,000 of which the clergy were to pay half.[98] But there is no indication that the fort was built. The temporal lands were to pay 6 s. 8 d. on every pound valuation, but no rate was set for the clergy, who collected as they saw fit.

The last recorded pre-Reformation tax upon the Church was imposed in 1558. This seems to have been levied to raise a force of 1,000 men to deal with the Protestant lords. The total amount required was £48,000, which meant 13 s. 4 d. on the pound value of Old Extent.[99] Adopting the total temporal valuation of £30,000 used in the Kelso tax, it would seem that the laity would pay £20,000 and the clergy the remainder. Thus right down to the final act, the clergy were still being loaded with taxes, whenever the government felt that such action would be profitable.

It is necessary also, to keep in mind the fact that throughout the whole period the government was still attempting to collect tax arrears. Most important of all was the action taken to obtain the required sums for the College of Justice. In 1547 the council ordered the goods of the Bishop of Dunblane and the commendators of Kelso

[95] *APS*, II, 600.
[96] *Register of the Privy Council*, XIV, 10.
[97] *Ibid.*, I, 83.
[98] *Ibid.*, XIV, 13.
[99] *Tr. A/cs*, X, 389, 402.

and Melrose destrained as they had not paid for eleven and a half years. The Abbot of Inchcolm, who owed £9 16 s. *per annum*, had not paid for twelve years, while the Bishop of Moray, who was also commendator of Scone, owing £28 and £35 *per annum* respectively, had not paid for eight years. So one might go on. When the Archbishop of Glasgow died in 1548 he owed the college £135—which was collected.[100] By 1555 the commendator of Kelso and Melrose owed £800, for which the lords took £550.[101] Hannay states without citing proof, that by 1553 less than half of the £1400 was being received, while by 1560 the collectors were £1100 in arrears.[102] It may have been not merely unwillingness, but also inability to pay.

Other taxes were no easier to collect. Apparently the tax of £26,000 granted in 1544 and that of £16,000 granted the next year were still being sought in 1552.[103] The situation evidently became so bad that the Queen Regent, Mary of Lorraine, in 1555 had the Estates enact a law which pointed out that many of the clergy had been sued for their taxes, "and for non-payment thereof sum of thame was denuncit Rebellis and put to the horne." Such action she forbade, "providing alwayis that the Lordis of the spritualitie provyde and find sum uther sure and ressonabill maner how the samin salbe inbrocht to our Soverayne lady and her graice payit thairof."[104] Even Mary of Guise, favorable as she was to the Church, was not prepared to surrender revenues which might be obtained from the clergy. Two years later the Estates ordered a complete survey of the country to determine the value of all land holdings, including those of the Church, for purposes of taxation.[105] Thus by 1560 clergy taxes were regarded as a proper source of income for an impecunious government.

From the fore-going it would seem that from 1531 on the Scottish clergy were loaded with an increasing burden of taxation, a burden which because of the perilous times, they could not very well avoid. What actual proportion of their income went in this way, would

[100] *Acts of Council*, pp. 565-9, 573, 582-5.

[101] *Ibid.*, p. 638.

[102] "College of Justice," p. 44.

[103] *Acts of Council*, pp. 616-8.

[104] *APS*, II, 498. The law does not seem to have been effective. Cf. *Tr. A/cs*, X, 412.

[105] *APS*, II, 604.

be hard to say, but they would seem to have paid more heavily than the laity. Not only were the prelates called upon to support the College of Justice, but the clergy as a whole were often manoeuvred into paying taxes which never touched the nobles or burghs. The Scottish rulers felt that they could justly ask the Church for financial aid in return for protection from the attacks of heresy, and the Church could not very well refuse—with the example of Henry VIII always in the offing.

The big problem, however, for the clergy was the question of how the money was to be raised. Unable to alienate land, they were supposed to pay out of income. The difficulty was, however, that as sometimes the taxes would amount to a quarter or a third, if not more, of the annual income of the clerics, the Church had to find some means of increasing the returns receivable from its wide lands. The answer was the system of feu-farming. By this means the clergy could obtain considerable sums of money down, although the yearly rents were not greatly increased. The Abbot of Kelso, for instance, in order to meet the cost of defending the abbey, feued heritably to Hamilton of Finnart, the lands of Lesmahagow for £1550 down, £82 *per annum*, and £82 on entry of heirs.[106] This practice became popular when the clergy felt the increasing load of taxation, after 1530.[107] The king favored the practice because it made taxes more easily available.[108] The laity also favored the idea, for whether they held the land for nineteen years, for a period of lives, or heritably, the land became virtually theirs, to exploit as they saw fit. Thus feuing was popular with all.

It was this quasi-alienation, however, which does not seem to have met with papal approval. Feuing meant virtual dilapidation of the Church's endowments. Indeed, the more conscientious of the clergy felt that papal permission had to be obtained to grant the long leases.[109] Hannay claims that this was one of the reasons for James

[106] *Reg. Grt. Seal*, III, 1330.

[107] *Ibid.*, III, 1923; *Rent. S. And.*, 204; D. E. Easson, *Charters of the Abbey of Cupar Angus* (Scottish Historical Society, 1947) II, 156 ff.; D. E. Easson, and A. Macdonald, *Charters of the Abbey of Inchcolm* (Scottish Historical Society, 1938), pp. 66 ff.; C. Innes, *Registrum Episcopatus Aberdonensis* (Maitland Club, 1845), I, 415 ff.

[108] Easson, *Cupar Angus*, II, 155; *L. & P. Hen. VIII*, XV (1896) 753; XVI (1898), 964.

[109] *Ibid.*

V's desire to have a *legatus a latere* permanently in Scotland. He could confirm feu grants without recourse to Rome. It was also probably the pope's reason for hesitating to make such an appointment until after James' death.[110] But with the danger of Scotland succumbing to English arms or Lutheran heresy, he was at last constrained to change his attitude and to give David Beaton, Archbishop of St. Andrews, the title. The result was an enormous increase in feuing, so that by 1560 much of the Church's land had passed into lay hands. Thus it was not merely the "Great Tax" that brought about this change, as Hannay holds, but it was the general growth of taxation, especially during the 1540's which forced the pace. Without this pressure it is doubtful, if feuing, still relatively rare in 1540, would have become so common.

But feuing did become common. This meant that the real ownership of the Church's property passed from its hands. Since the rents were fixed with prices rising, the feus decreased in value to those receiving the ferms, or rents but increased in value to those who held the land. At the same time, once the Church's power was broken, it was comparatively easy for the feuars to assume complete ownership. On the other hand, it was correspondingly difficult for the crown or parliament to gain possession of the land, once it had passed into the hands of the feuars. Consequently church lands disbursed by the clergy to meet the demands of taxation, never again left the hands of those to whom they were granted.

This development had extremely important consequences for the post-Reformation Church in Scotland. For one thing it effectively prevented the new church from taking over the old church's property. By this means, Knox's plan for a national system of education was effectively blocked. But probably even more important was the effect which it had on the establishment of a Protestant episcopacy. In England the setting up of such a church organization was relatively simple. While Henry VIII dissolved the monastic houses, he left the episcopal lands intact. Thus the economic foundation of the Anglican episcopacy was already there. In Scotland, the Reformation saw a considerable number of monastic institutions appropriated by nobles who had already become commendators or bailies of the houses. Episcopal and parish properties, however, could not be taken

[110] *Ibid.*, XVI, 619, 620; H. & H., *Abps.*, IV, 37-38, 40-41; *Rent. S. And.*, pp. XXV-XXVIII.

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over in the same manner. One might have supposed that they would fall into the hands of the crown; but the fact seems to be that they were simply appropriated by the feuars. In the final settlement it was decided that while one-third of the episcopal revenues would be turned over to the crown and kirk, the other two-thirds would go to the former incumbents, on whose death, the feuars would become the recipients.[111] Thus, the feuars became the absolute owners of the land, and any chance of the erecting of an endowed episcopacy was lost. This would seem to have been one of the basic economic reasons for the failure to establish bishops in the post-Reformation Church.

From these facts it is not difficult to see that the state by its taxation of the Church, not only helped forward the Reformation, but also was partially responsible for the type of church which afterwards developed. James V took this way of dealing with the Church, partially because he desired to protect it, but the ultimate outcome was its total destruction. Moreover, in so doing he helped to raise upon the ruins a building which, perhaps, was the most radically different from the mediaeval organization of all the Reformed churches in Europe.

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[111] A Lang, *John Knox and the Reformation* (London, 1905), chapter, XIII; P. H. Brown, *John Knox* (London, 1895), II, 140 ff.

THE ATTITUDE OF THE *CIVILTÀ CATTOLICA* ON THE ITALIAN QUESTION, 1866-1870

By

Dora Guerrieri*

When the Italian army forced the Porta Pia in 1870 and pronounced the last possession of the Roman Papacy to be the capital of United Italy, the periodical, the *Civiltà Cattolica,* had been in existence for twenty years. Founded in Naples in April, 1850, to be a fortnightly review and organ for the Italian Jesuits, it was very soon after transferred to Rome where it remained during the whole period of unification. The taking of Rome in 1870 necessitated its suppression for three months, after which it resumed publication in Florence.

Among the names of the contributors, three especially stand out as worthy of comment because of their work in connection with the periodical. Carlo Maria Curci, the founder of the paper, and for many years its editor, was born in Naples on September 4, 1810. Having entered the Jesuit order, he became a professor of Hebrew and of Sacred Scripture, and later was engaged in preaching. His career as a writer began in 1845 when he defended his order against the *Prolegomeni* of Gioberti by a book, *Fatti e argomenti.* This work was followed in 1849 by *Una divinazione sopra le tre ultime opere,* which was also a reply to Gioberti's writings, the *Prolegomeni,* the *Gesuita moderno,* and the *Apologia.* Two other writings of Curci appeared in 1849: *La demagogia italiana ed il papa re,* and *La questione romana nell' assemblea francese.* After 1850, he contributed many articles to the *Civiltà Cattolica.* At first, Carlo Curci was an ardent protagonist of the temporal power of the Pope, but by 1874 his ideas had gone through such a revolution that he was advocating the adapting of the Church to the new conditions created by the political situation in Italy. Not only did his ideas become more and more liberal, but he even defended them so ardently that his writings, after he had left the Society of Jesus (October, 1877) until 1884, were put on the Index.

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Readmitted to the order in 1891, he died in the same year in Careggi, near Florence on June 9, 1891.[1]

Second only to Curci was Luigi Taparelli d'Azeglio who helped to initiate the work of the *Civiltà Cattolica* and to create the influence it quickly attained. Born in Turin in 1793 of the same family as the statesman, Massimo d' Azeglio, he received there his minor orders after having studied in Siena. In 1814 he moved with his family to Rome, where he entered the Jesuit order in November of the same year. The next ten years were spent in the Jesuit house at Novara where he was ordained in 1820. After 1824 he was rector of the Roman College till 1829, provincial in Naples till 1833, teacher in Palermo till 1850. Then he became one of the editors of the *Civiltà Cattolica*, where he "exercised a veritable dictatorship in the clerical world."[2]

The third of the group is, perhaps, the best known since the part played by Matteo Liberatore in re-establishing Thomistic thought in the teaching of philosophy has already been recognized as one of the most influential in the movement. Born in 1810, he entered the Society of Jesus at the age of sixteen and spent the years 1837 to 1848 in the teaching of philosophy. The revolution year drove him into exile from his home country to Malta, but he took up the same work of education on his return. The persuasion of his oral teaching was reinforced by his writings, and for more than forty years, he contributed numerous articles to the *Civiltà Cattolica*, articles which were marked especially by clarity and practicality.[3] He died in 1892.

[1] G. Castellani, "Carlo Maria Curci," *Enciclopedia italiana di scienze lettere ed arti*, XII, 155. Cf. also *Civiltà Cattolica* XI (1891), 102.

[2] "Luigi Taparelli d'Azeglio," *Enciclopedia italiana di scienze lettere ed arti*, XXXIII, 244-245. It is worth noting in contrast the estimate accorded in 1866 by the *Civiltà Cattolica* to the diplomat brother of Taparelli d'Azeglio: "The merits of this man in regard to the Italian revolution are so well known that there is no need for us to comment on it. His values as a militarist, as a man of letters, as a painter and as a musician, are not sufficient to allow good Catholics to condone the war he made on the Holy See, first by his writings, then by the laws initiated by him during his Ministry, a war which has not ceased since that time. . ." *Civiltà Cattolica*, Series VI, Volume 5 (1866), 491. For the sake of conciseness, references to the *Civiltà Cattolica* will hereafter be given as: *Civ. Catt.*, series number in Roman numerals, volume number in Arabic numerals, the year and page.

[3] "Matteo Liberatore," *Espasa*, Vol. 30. Cf. also *Enciclopedia italiana*, XXI, 40, and *Civ. Catt.*, XV, 4 (1892), 352.

A further introductory remark concerning the avowed purpose for which the periodical was established seems necessary here. In the first number of the *Civiltà Cattolica* the editors stated:

> We aim at a careful, orderly and logically connected explanation of Catholic and social doctrine, and [we intend it for] not this or that part of the peninsula, but for all. And we hope that our periodical, although published in one part of Italy, will be looked upon as indigenous and natural to all the regions of Italy.

And further:

> Whether it be to establish a rampart opposing the heterodox doctrines which threaten us, or to preserve for ourselves some standard with which to set right a decaying civilization, the social matters treated in our periodical will be paralleled by the no less important Catholic affairs, but it is to be understood that we shall do this according to the need of the time and the quality of our readers, whom we may suppose to be, on the whole, of the laity.[4]

Finally they gave in a few words what was to be their fundamental principle: "the idea and love of authority established according to Catholic principles."[5] They had been propagating this idea for sixteen years when in 1866 they received from the Sovereign Pontiff an encouragement in their work. Pius IX, in that year, erected for the *Civiltà Cattolica* a college of writers which was to be under the direct control of the Papacy, and which was subject to change only with the permission and by the command of the Pope. In the same brief, Pius IX gave explicit expression to his desires as to the work the editors were to do.

> We desire that the Religious of the Company of Jesus establish a College of writers, made up of members of the Society, who will carefully and wisely through opportune and learned writings refute the many false doctrines which have arisen out of the darkness, and with all their strength, and without ceasing, will defend both the rights and the doctrines of the Catholic religion.[6]

It was this new impetus given to the *Civiltà Cattolica* by the Sovereign Pontiff which marked the year 1866 as a good point of

[4] *Civ. Catt.*, I, 1 (1850), 11-17.
[5] *Ibid.*, p. 23.
[6] *Civ. Catt.*, VI, 6 (1866), 5.

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departure for the present study of the attitude of the periodical on Italian unification. And it may be said at the outset that though the material is abundant, it was not hard to determine the one idea which remained unchanged in substance throughout the last four years before 1870. The form varied, it is true, but there remained a determined and unswerving, vigorous resistance to a government which was to the mind of the editors illegal and undesired by the majority of the people.

Thus in the early months of 1866 they asked:

> What is the advantage of having unified Italy? In eight years there have been spent five billions of lire more than would have been spent before; and there has been procured for the future a debt of three hundred million more than before. This much is certain, but has it rendered Italy more prosperous in internal affairs, or more respected by outsiders?[6]

Again they asked of what use was parliamentary government which led only to injustice, to waste, to maladministration, to wrong moral ends. It led apparently only to the pagan civilization such as had been described by St. Augustine in the *De civitate Dei.*[7]

The war of 1866 gave other matter for accusation, for the defeats suffered by the Italian forces at Custozza and Lissa were described by the government as "unsuccess." According to the *Civiltà Cattolica,* this was but an attempt to gloss over the real disasters which were the occasion of unnecessary expenditure of resources already in a precarious condition, and a cruel and unnecessary loss of life. Yet both of these disasters might have been averted if it had not been for the government's desire to unify Italy. It was, then, unification which was the cause of the increased financial difficulty and the deep personal sorrow of so many families of Italy. But unification was the aim of the government only, not of the people. In an article entitled "La guerra combattuta ultimamente in Italia," Liberatore questioned just how much the people desired that unity.

> In Italy everyone wants national unity, yet the government has to 'sell' the idea and force it on the people, sacrificing for this end every other interest! But even without this, the proof that national unity is not really national in Italy has already been given by the extreme Crispi law[8] and its

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[7] *Civ. Catt.,* VI, 7 (1866), 257-263.

[8] The famous Crispi Law against suspects was passed on May 17, 1866. It aimed at the destruction of the Association for the Defence of the Catholic Religion which had been formed in 1864. Of this association, 6,825 members

equally extreme application, in virtue of which the Proconsuls of the revolution threw thousands of citizens into jail and to exile. We ask any man of sense if terrorism used as a means of governing is an indication of national consent. What is really desired by a nation has no need of such extreme measures of defense. Men have recourse to terrorism only when a lost cause is at stake, a cause which though disliked by many is desired by, and is for the interests of, the few.[9]

Hence, they concluded, the troubles of Italy might be more bearable if the government were really desired by the people, but it was not, as claimed by the liberals, a national government for

> . . . in the language of the liberals, *national* and *imposed* are synonymous, not only in the matter of loans, but in many other things as well, as, for example, the army, the national guard, the holidays, national will, unification and so on. Just try not joining the national army when you have been conscripted, or not mounting guard when you are called, or not approving unification, or the national will, or the national holiday, in any case whatsoever, and you will see that the least that will happen to you will be imprisonment.[10]

The reason for the lack of support may well have been, in the words of the *Civiltà Cattolica,* the inefficiency of the government itself. On one occasion when the Florentine paper, *Il Diritto,* praised the tactics of Robespierre and hinted openly that it might be well to imitate him in order to get rid of a government which was without brains, the *Civiltà Cattolica* used the words of that liberal paper for its attack on the government.

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were summoned before tribunals as a result of the Crispi Law, and of that number 4,171 were imprisoned "to await trial." (Cf. Reuben Parsons, *Studies in Church History* [New York, 1898], V, 557.) The *Civiltà Cattolica* saw this law as an attack on the "liberty of all citizens, not excluding the liberals themselves," since it gave the government the freedom to imprison all persons held suspect of wishing to re-establish the old order of things in Italy. The injustice implied in the law was made even more concrete by some of the deputies who declared that the government should not be afraid of some injustice that might be committed under this law. *Civ. Catt.,* VI, 6 (1866), 641-642, 644.

[9] *Civ. Catt.,* VI, 7 (1866), 394-395.

[10] *Civ. Catt.,* VI, 7 (1866), 513-514. In this case, the editors apparently did not seem to realize that the "imposed" laws were not the result of unification but of government. The instances they cite would be "imposed" by any government which wished to retain its liberty and independence.

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This then is the program of the 'democracy': the acid bite of censure, or the guillotine according to the French fashion, by which is shown beyond dispute that the present governors of Italy *cerebrum non habent.* But to demonstrate such evident truths have we really need of such cutting proofs? It seems to us that, to prove that the present governors lack brains, it is sufficient to examine this very same progress of the Leftists. For who was it brought Italy progressively towards such a danger as to be able to fall at any moment into the hands of such mad devotees of censure according to the style of Robespierre? Who, if not those moderate constitutionalists who up till now have alone had their hands on the helm? But these are, or at least have the reputation of being, the wisest of the liberals.[11]

And again:

Let us conclude then that if no one can be sure what can happen in a few days to this Chamber and this Ministry, this at least can be known even now with certainty, that Italy is without doubt in the hands of men without brains, from which, save by miracle, it can fall only into the hands of the most bloody upholders of democracy.[12]

Furthermore, what was the logical end of this "maturing of Italy" of which so much was said and written during the years 1866 to 1870? The end was certainly not a strong unified government, since there were so many opposed to it. This is the conclusion drawn by the *Civiltà Cattolica.* On the occasion of the passing of the Crispi Laws, the comment of the periodical was that laws of this kind were but an indication

that the government does not feel safely seated in the saddle, that it feels the ground quaking beneath it, that it begins to see that it is hated by most of the citizens, and to save itself from the precipice, it runs for help to despairing parties. But is this manifestation a credit to Italy in the eyes of Europe and of the world?[13]

Yet it was the factions forming the government who had imposed unification on Italy. At least, such was the judgment of the *Civiltà Cattolica* after the war of 1866.

What caused the war? National unification of Italy. But that idea is not a national one. It is an idea of the factions. It was conceived in the

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[11] *Civ. Catt.*, VI, 5 (1866), 393.

[12] *Ibid.*

[13] *Civ. Catt.*, VI, 6 (1866), 648.

factions and effected by them, by means of bribery and fraud. It was imposed on Italy by violence, and by violence it is maintained.[14]

Another accusation was levelled at the unifiers of Italy: that of having brought to the country the representative system which could end only in a republic, a term which expressed to the *Civiltà Cattolica* the lowest form of government.

To give the people representatives of their sovereignty is to ridicule their sovereignty, since it means calling it sovereignty in word, but in reality making it slavery. They are served by Deputies, who independently of the people make laws from which they cannot escape. They are served by a Ministry formed by intrigue and the will of the parliamentary parties. They are served by proconsuls who are sent them by the Ministry, and by a bureaucracy which spreads over every part of social life. The wonderful name of sovereignty is but sarcasm for the people.[15]

With this idea in mind, the editors could turn again to the assertion that the government was not desired.

In this kingdom which comprises about half of Italy, who wants this unification? Not the clergy who are persecuted as opposing it. Not the nobility, who have almost all left the country. Not the military forces, who follow their own king. Not the majority of the citizens, who had to be kept under control by an army of 90,000 men. Who then wants it? A minority of revolutionists who conquered because they were more bold and because they were helped by the Piedmontese army and the connivance of France.[16]

But the *Civiltà Cattolica* did not content itself with merely calling the Italian government undesired. Worse than that,

. . . the present government of Italy is both anti-national and anti-Italian, false and deceiving consequently in its very essence as a representative government, since it represents only that which Italy does not want.[17]

And not only did the people not want the government, but they would not even have felt any sorrow had it been overthrown.

And who would feel sad over the fall of such a government? Not the liberals, indeed, among whom there is no head so stupid but does not

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[14] *Civ. Catt.*, VI, 7 (1866), 393.

[15] *Civ. Catt.*, VI, 7 (1866), 644.

[16] *Civ. Catt.*, VI, 9 (1867), 11-12.

[17] *Civ. Catt.*, VII, 6 (1869), 538.

believe, and with good reason, that he could govern better. Much less would the Catholics and the conservatives feel sad, since, if they have no hope now for anything much better, at least they have reason to fear much worse. If you read the papers, you will see that there is none which supports the government in the straits in which it finds itself, except of course those papers sponsored by the Government itself, to which naturally no one gives credence.[18]

Such a government obviously could not long maintain its prestige among the nations. Hence, in 1869, the *Civiltà Cattolica* pointed out the reasons for the general discontent, but it took the occasion to point out also the vitality of the government of the Catholic Church.

For the rest we need not wonder at the fact that Italy is now in the same state as almost all 'modernized' governments and peoples. Of these it is not easy to find one contented with the present, or which is not wary of changes and fearful of worse things to come. And there is no Catholic who ought not be rightfully proud to see that among all governments and all authorities (almost all of whom have tried to teach the Church the art of ruling well), the only authority and the only government not threatened with ruin, and the only authority which is living and growing, is that of the Catholic Church.[19]

Finally, in 1870, just four months before the *Civiltà Cattolica* was obliged to omit the fourth volume of the year's publication because of the taking of Rome by the army of Victor Emmanuel, the editors returned to their "fundamental principle" of legitimacy as the basis of attack.

Does there exist in Italy for the present government that legitimacy given by time, by law however modern, by common consent?

Certainly it has not the legitimacy of time. A human being who was only as old as this new kingdom would be considered still a baby. And can we call the kingdom old?

It certainly has not the legitimacy of even modern legal right, since the famous 'reservations' are well known.

It certainly lacks the legitimacy of common consent, both of the Italians and of the liberals.

In fact, what is this idea of regionalism which is invading the peninsula and is even proposed by the more liberal of the liberals as a way of salva-

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[18] *Ibid.*, VI, 9 (1867), 518.

[19] *Ibid.*, VII, 9 (1869), 462.

tion? It is but one of the thousand ways by which the common consciousness is protesting against this enforced unity which is repugnant to the desires, the character, the interests and the traditions of the Italians.[20]

All these passages may give the impression that the *Civiltà Cattolica* remained in the region of the abstract when speaking of the government. But it also knew how to be concrete. And though the material provides the temptation to treat of many points touched on by the periodical, yet the writer has confined herself to three which are of special interest, namely, the Convention of 1864, the remarks made by the king in the sessions of Parliament in 1867, and the ultimate aims of the Italian revolution and unification.

The Convention of 1864, signed on September 15, by the King of Italy and the Emperor of the French, was one of those historical expedients, which, like most expedients, did not succeed. The clauses of the convention are redolent of the desire of Napoleon III to win the favor of the French Catholics while at the same time retaining his favorite pose as the friend of the weak and the champion of national rights. It was agreed, first, that Italy would not attack the territory of the Holy Father, and would oppose with force any attack which might be made on papal territory from outside; secondly, that France would gradually withdraw her troops in proportion as the army of the Papal States grew in size; thirdly, the Italian government would not object to the organization of a pontifical army, even if it were to be composed of Catholics from other countries, and in sufficient size to maintain the authority of the Holy Father and the tranquillity on the frontiers as well as within the territory, provided that this armed force did not become a menace to the Italian government; fourthly, Italy declared itself ready to sign a treaty by which she assumed the debt of the former states of the Church; and fifthly, the convention was to be signed and ratified within fifteen days, or sooner.

But perhaps the most interesting part of the convention was the secret protocol which Napoleon demanded as the pledge of the keeping of the convention. It read as follows:

The Convention signed this day by their Majesties, the King of Italy and the Emperor of the French, will not have executive force until His Majesty the King of Italy shall have decreed the transfer of the capital

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[20] *Civ. Catt.*, VII, 10 (1870), 38.

of the Kingdom to a site designated by His Majesty. This transfer must have taken place within six months from the signing of the aforesaid Convention.[21]

One might be tempted to ask whether or not Napoleon III was sincere in supposing that the transfer of the capital to Florence meant the renunciation of Rome by the Italian revolutionists. But such investigation would not alter the fact that the Italians had not in truth renounced Rome. In the words of one of her historians:

> It is not true that, as some have said and written, the Convention of the fifteenth of September was a disgrace for Italy, nor that by it she made an implicit renunciation of Rome. Quite the contrary, Italians understood rather that Florence was but a temporary capital, and that the day was not far off in which the true capital of Italy, that is, Rome, would be restored to her.[22]

The *Civiltà Cattolica* was not slow in recognizing this fact, and in the year 1866, which marked the completion of the convention by the withdrawal of the last of the French troops from Rome, many articles were published touching on the subject of the convention.

According to the analysis of the situation given in the first months of 1866 by the periodical, there were three main concepts concerning the Roman question existing among the high powers of government. The first was primarily revolutionary and proper to the rulers of Italy, who wished the absolute destruction of the temporal sovereignty of the Papacy. The second, held by more conservative governments, wished not only to preserve the temporal power but also to restore the lost provinces. The third concept was, according to the *Civiltà*, the idea proper to the French cabinet which wished to take the middle way between the two extremes by allowing the temporal sovereignty to the Pope in a very restricted territory and sphere of authority. With these three incompatible ideas forming the background, the convention was signed, but far from being a peaceful solution to the problem, it was rather a complication of it, since the Italians in power had never changed their mind as to the taking of Rome. There were differences in opinion among them, it was true, but the differences had to do rather with the method by which Rome was to be taken.

[21] Saverio Cilibrizzi, *Storia parlamentare politica e diplomatica d'Italia da Novara a Vittorio Veneta*, I, *1848-1870* (Milano, 1925), p. 431.

[22] L. Cappelletti, *Storia d'Italia* (Milan, 1932), II, 387.

The followers of Mazzini would like to get to Rome quickly and in spite of any resistance whatever; the moderates are rather resigned to waiting, in order to avoid that resistance, and the government which is in the hands of the moderates has put their plan into act. The Convention was a means to attain it. Once the French were out of Rome, effective resistance would have ceased and [the moderates], thinking themselves freed from every obstacle, counted the days and the hours which kept them from their capital. Hence the Convention has not changed the aim of the government of Italy one bit, but has rather strengthened it, and has made it closer to attainment.[23]

Hence, the *Civiltà* concluded, the convention, instead of being an added security to the temporal power, was in reality an undisguised menace. As proof for this, there were the words of the Minister La Marmora who declared that the principle of non-intervention, in the concrete case of Rome, was to be observed by all nations, except Italy and France.[24] But aside from this added menace to the Pope, the convention accomplished nothing.

The Italian government continues as before in the desire to take Rome; the Pope continues as before in the desire to remain in Rome; France continues as before to place herself between Italy and Rome by demanding an impossible conciliation; the Catholic Powers of Europe continue as before to pretend that the rights of the Pope are respected in all their fulness. Thus, in the order of right the Convention has accomplished nothing; in the theoretical order, it has changed nothing; in the order of tendencies, it has modified nothing. Only in the order of actual fact the material support of the authority of the Pope seems to have been weakened by it. But it is this fact which makes us believe that the time of the true solution of the Roman question is much nearer than before.[25]

If the *Civiltà Cattolica* had contented itself with this analysis of the situation, one might have been drawn to agree fully with its conclusions. Unfortunately, the writer of the article quoted above adopted the role of the prophet, and it is of interest to see how far he wandered from the truth of what was actually to take place.

The program of the revolution is now Rome and Venetia. Once Rome is taken, Venetia will become a necessity for the internal policy of the

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[23] *Civ. Catt.*, VI, 5 (1866), 697.

[24] *Ibid.*, 698-699.

[25] *Civ. Catt.*, VI, 5 (1866), 706.

kingdom, just as Rome now is. But the question of Venetia, if morally less difficult than the Roman question, is not as materially easy as is Rome. Venetia is defended by bayonets and cannon which could destroy any Italian revolution and more than one national unity. There is then a new danger which Italy runs if she takes possession of Rome.[26]

But this was written in the early months of 1866. A year later the picture had undergone some modifications. Italy had already acquired Venetia, and France had fulfilled her part of the convention by withdrawing her troops from Rome. The *Civiltà Cattolica* no longer had to deal in prophesies. There were the *faits accomplis* to supply material for comment. Hence, in 1867 the following statement was made:

Now that the Convention has been carried out, we see more clearly than ever all the reasons why it should never have been signed nor fulfilled. The fruits of this evil tree begin to appear and can be judged now not by conjecture but by experience. The Convention was harmful to France, harmful to Italy, harmful to Rome; that is to say, harmful to the two contracting parties and to the unknowing subject of their contract. Never has a treaty been signed with so much disadvantage for all concerned. The Convention, far from being a solution of the Roman question, was but a new and more serious complication of it.[27]

The reasons for this statement were developed at length. That the convention injured the French was indubitable, since that Catholic nation thereby abandoned a post of honor, of prestige, and of trust. During the time of its stay in Rome, the French army had received the gratitude and recognition which its help to the Holy Father merited. Hence, the protection given by the French "più che un servigio reso era un servigio ricevuto."[28] For the French flag raised in Rome was a bond uniting Napoleon III and his people, a bond of sympathy throughout the world, and an argument for confidence in relation to the other cabinets of Europe.

The future historian of France will record this latest glory of the French people. When the passions which now hamper calm judgment have become quiet, the best and most honored glory for France will be this prolonged defense of the most sacred, the most legitimate, the most ancient, the most beneficent of all rights, that of the territorial sovereignty of the Popes.[29]

[26] *Ibid.*, p. 707.

[27] *Civ. Catt.*, VI, 9 (1867), 39-40.

[28] *Civ. Catt.*, VI, 9 (1867), 40.

[29] *Ibid.*, p. 41.

The desertion by the French was castigated as a failure in honor, that most sensitive touchstone of all French sensibilities. For either they had left Rome because of extreme danger (and in that case honor would have demanded that they remain in Rome to protect their endangered protégé), or—worse still—the danger was caused by the French themselves, as indeed it was, for the Italians could not have taken papal lands from the Pope without French help, or at least without their consent. That they left at the moment when they were most needed was in keeping with all the French undertakings of the years just preceding 1866. The Mexican enterprise at that time was fast crumbling away. The Asiatic conquests were not too secure. In Africa the colonies of France were in constant need of reorganization. Finally, the alliance of Italy with Prussia (1866) was the cause of great consternation in France.[30] For this reason the *Civiltà Cattolica* could write:

> In a very short time there will remain no trace of all the works of 'restoration' undertaken by the French. Whether it was strength or financial means which failed them, not one of their enterprises has come to a successful conclusion. Nor will they recover from such a failure with the help of revolutionary Italy, which was set up by France itself as a united kingdom. This was a misfortune for Italy, and a threat to France.[31]

None of the reassurances of the French government convinced the *Civiltà Cattolica*: "Dice che la Francia non abbandona Roma, ma solo cambia la modo della difesa. . ."[32] But of what use was protection from the Tuileries, since those who might attack Rome would have accomplished their evil designs before any help could arrive.

If the consequences of the convention were disastrous to France, they were even more so to Italy, for whether Italy meant to abide by the convention or not, she was bound to have trouble. If she did not break the convention, she would have endless difficulty with the revolutionary agitators who had set their hearts on Rome. If she broke the convention, she would invite intervention implicitly, since the

[30] *Ibid.*, p. 45. "L'irrésolution dont Napoléon III fit preuve en Méxique, en Pologne, en Allemagne et par tout doit nous rendre plus indulgente pour sa mémoire, dans nos judgements sur sa politique italienne. Bien des fois peut-être il parut fourbe lorsqu' il n'était que faible." (J. M. Villefranche, *Pie IX, sa vie, son histoire, son siècle* [Lyon, 1883], p. 236, note.)

[31] *Civ. Catt.*, VI, 9 (1867), 45.

[32] *Ibid.*, p. 46.

making of the convention was of itself an admission that the Roman question was not only a national affair but an international one.[33]

But that the Italian government was adept in acting the part of a faithful observer of treaties while at the same time doing all it wished to violate them was amply proven in 1867. One of the terms of the convention had been that the Italian government would not invade pontifical territory with its troops, nor allow any kind of invasion by troops of volunteers. Villefranche described graphically the way that promise was kept. Garibaldi "escaped" from Caprera, and immediately a warrant for his arrest was issued ". . .on le recherche activement à Gênes, à Turin, partout, excepté à Florence, où il haranguait la foule en pleine place publique, sous les fenêtres du palais du roi; puis lorsqu'on s'avisa de l'arrêter à Florence, il se trouva qu'il venait de partir. . . ."[34] The comedy continued. It was discovered that Garibaldi was in the company of an officer, on the way to the Roman border. A telegram was sent to stop the train, but somehow failed in its object. The Italian government, of course, ordered an investigation and punishment if the fault had been a deliberate one. What more could one ask? And the diplomatic notes continued, also, while Garibaldi penetrated further into papal territory until he was defeated at Mentana in November, 1867.

The *Civiltà Cattolica* could not pass over such proceedings in silence. If in the preceding year the editors had attacked the honor of France, this time it was the honor of Italy which they depicted as irretrievably lost.[35] The protests of the government that it was not an accomplice in the invasion fell on unconvinced minds, for on the very day that France had been notified of the Florentine government's intention of protecting papal territory against aggression,

> . . .Garibaldi, in the public square of Florence, was haranguing the people against Rome, and he could, with the escort given him by the order of the government, leave for Foligno and from thence for Terni, where under the very eyes of General Ricotti, the supreme commander of the frontier army, he organized a battalion of volunteers, gathered munitions, and made all the arrangements for beginning his campaign. The complicity of the government was so evident that the liberals themselves laughed over it.[36]

[33] *Ibid.*, p. 49.

[34] Villefranche, *op. cit.*, p. 268.

[35] *Civ. Catt.*, VI, 12 (1867), 399.

[36] *Ibid.*, p. 397.

The deceitfulness of the government did not stop there. The Piedmontese army under Cialdini[37] was sent to "protect the frontier." In reality, it acted as a protection for the insurgents who could pass freely between the lines of the "protecting" army into papal territory. The news that the army had been sent, however, caused the French contingent, then en route for Cività Vecchia, to be halted, until the news that Cialdini too had crossed the frontier set the French again on their way towards Rome. Rattazzi[38] and the king had thought that the delay of the French contingent was an implicit permission to go ahead, but they found quite a different story when their mercenaries met the pontifical and French troops at Mentana on November 3. And the king's words of October 26 sounded hollow a week later. He had said:

> Italians! Bands of volunteers, aroused and led astray by the work of one party, with no authorization from me or my government, have crossed the frontiers. The respect owed by all citizens alike to the laws and international treaties sanctioned by me and Parliament establishes in these serious circumstances an inescapable debt of honor, etc. . . .[39]

Yet within a very short time, Rattazzi's implication in the whole affair was so manifest that he was forced to withdraw from the ministry, thus giving further proof of his complicity in the attack. The consequence of the part played by the Italian government was that within a year after the fulfillment of the convention, the French army was back in Rome, where it was to remain until the summer of 1870.

The *Civilità Cattolica* had not waited till the end of 1867 to continue its attacks on the government of unified Italy. The king had, in the speech at the opening of the parliamentary session of 1867, given out more grist for the editorial mill. He had remarked that the country was at last free from every foreign domination.

> In what way, asked the *Civiltà Cattolica*, should we interpret this sentence? If the word country (*patria*) indicates the native land of the

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[37] Enrico Cialdini (1811-1892) had taken active part in the wars of 1856 and 1859. He was in command of the division which defeated Lamoricière at Castelfidardo in 1860, and which conquered Gaeta in 1861. He succeeded La Marmora as chief of staff in 1866. *Enciclopedia italiana*, X, 183-184.

[38] Urbano Rattazzi (1808-1873) was twice prime minister: from March to December, 1862, and from April to October, 1867. *Enciclopedia italiana*, XVIII, 860-862.

[39] *Civ. Catt.*, VI, 12 (1867), p. 398.

Italians; that statement is false, because there are entire provinces, and important provinces at that, still subject to foreign powers. The Italian Tyrol and Istria are subject to the Austrian Emperor; Nizza and Corsica are subject to the Emperor of the French. . . . There is nothing so obviously false as the statement that the fatherland of the Italians is at last free from all foreign power.[40]

Evidently what the king meant by *patria* was "il paese abitato da coloro che al presente sono sudditi di Casa Savoia."[41] But this made the *Civilità Cattolica* wonder if he thought Italian unification was already completed. Was he by this statement renouncing the aim of the revolution? Was he really correcting his former statement that "l'Italia era fatta ma non compiuta?"[42] The *Civilità Cattolica* drew from this a conclusion that was startling, and for this reason is worth quoting in full.

The Italians must make up their minds to do without Rome. In the strength of what principle did they wish to despoil the Pope? In the name of the principle of nationality. 'All those who speak the same language have the right to unite under the same scepter and to form a single state.' That is quite simply the so-called right claimed by the revolution. From this right they derive the necessity of the destruction of the powers existing in Italy, even though they be Italian. From this they derive the necessity of destroying the temporal power of the Popes as that which opposed the unification of Italy. But now the revolution, through the words of the Italian government, professes to abandon to their fate the Italian provinces which are not yet freed from foreign power, and, far from wishing to unite them all in one single independent state, it does not even consider them members of the fatherland to which belong the twenty-four million who are now subject to the House of Savoy. On what basis then can they claim Rome in the name of a principle which has been so distorted? In the revolutionary mind, the national principle enunciates two rights: one is essential, the other accidental. The essential one is the independence of the country from foreign power. The accidental one is the unification of the State into one single state. The first they say is absolutely necessary for a nation. The second is convenient for perfecting the nation. Now can the revolution insist on what is merely convenient when it gives up what is absolutely necessary?[43]

[40] *Civ. Catt.*, VI, 9 (1867), 185.

[41] *Ibid.*, p. 186.

[42] *Ibid.*, p. 187.

[43] *Ibid.*, p. 190.

Even more precise is an earlier comment on the same words of Victor Emmanuel:

> Perhaps it contradicts the national principle to have one state under an Italian prince, as Rome is under the Pope, and it does not contradict it to have several other Italian states subject to foreign princes, as are Nizza and Corsica to the French, Tyrol and Istria to the Austrians, Ticino to the Swiss, Malta to the English and the Adriatic coast to the Turk? Or perhaps with these Italian provinces subject to foreign princes, one could still proclaim in the discourse from the Crown that the fatherland was at last free from all foreign power, and it could not be said with the Pontifical States remaining subject to the Pope, an Italian prince.[44]

But three months after this famous opening speech, the king in another address gave the *Civilità Cattolica* grounds for renewed attack. Speaking to the Parliament of the troubles in Italy, he had said, "The honor, safety, future of Italy are now in your hands. It will be your glory if you put her in order, and make her secure in herself, prosperous and strong." In other words, Italy was not yet "made," nor secure, nor prosperous, nor strong.[45] To the *Civilità*, the reason was obvious: the clash of the monarchy with the revolutionary element that wished not a monarchy but a republic; the precedence taken by party interests over the common good; a parliament wasteful of time, strength, and money. True, the foreigner had been driven out of the country, but the country had fallen into the hands of much worse rulers.

But for the *Civilità Cattolica* this fact was linked up with what is the third point discussed in this study: the ultimate aim and purpose of the Italian revolution and unification. It was not surprising that the government of Italy was regarded as unjust, deceitful, and avaricious, since its aim was

> . . .not independence, not unity. For already this has been attained. Nor can the conservatives do anything more to oppose that. We must repeat: the ultimate aim is not political, it is religious; it is not political unification, it is unification in anti-religiousness; it is not independence from the foreigner, it is independence from morality and Catholic Dogma. This, and this alone, is the ultimate aim of the moderates and republicans and any others who are properly called liberals.[46]

[44] *Ibid.*, pp. 49-50.

[45] *Civ. Catt.*, VI, 10 (1867), pp. 129-133.

[46] *Civ. Catt.*, VI, 8 (1866), 13.

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It is the same concept which Liberatore emphasized when he discussed the incompatibility expressed in the term "liberal Catholic." He refused to recognize liberalism as a political system, since it was, more truly speaking, a moral system applied to the political order.[47] He summarized its principles as

> . . .the exclusion of all religious influence from social affairs; the full emancipation of political judgment from divine revelation; the absolute liberty that the civil power attributes to itself. This is what is called, in the jargon of the liberals, a free state; a state not subjected to any law which does not emanate from itself; a state without belief and without God.[48]

This was the natural result of the attempt to establish what Cavour had called "a free Church in a free State."[49]

Such an end was, for the *Civilità,* an absurdity since it meant that the state became a bestial thing; it would become "what the pagan state had been, founded on force alone."[50] In such a state "slavery would make a triumphant re-entrance under the disguised name of liberty."[51]

And it may be said that one has not far to look for proof that the government of Italy was aiming at the destruction of religion, not merely the separation of Church and State. As early as 1850, Siccardi, as Minister of Justice of the Kingdom of Sardinia, had introduced into the chamber a bill to deprive the clergy of their privileges and immunities, to abolish certain holydays of the Church, and to deprive priests and religious orders of the right to acquire property in Piedmont. Later the government insisted on regulating the teaching of theology in the seminaries. The civil marriage law followed. In 1855, church property was confiscated in Piedmont. This meant the end for some sixty-six monasteries and forty-six convents, and involved a total of 2099 establishments, over 7000 persons, and an annual income of approximately two million lire. In 1859 and 1860, this legislation was extended to apply to the newly acquired territories. But

[47] *Civ. Catt.,* VII, 8 (1869), 5-6.

[48] *Ibid.*

[49] Cavour claimed to have taken the phrase from Montalembert, who had used it first (as Cavour put it) "in a lucid moment."

[50] *Civ. Catt.,* VII, 6 (1869), 34.

[51] *Ibid.*

persecution did not end there. In April, 1862, public prosecutors were ordered to watch carefully the conduct and utterances of the bishops and clergy. Bishops were refused passports to Rome for the canonization of the Japanese martyrs, and legal action was instigated against all who introduced copies of papal encyclicals into the kingdom.

After 1864, more obviously anti-Catholic legislation proved the true aim of the liberals. Not only did they interfere with matters which they claimed to be connected with the State, but also with the religious practices of the people. Statues of our Lady were not allowed on the exterior of houses. Public religious processions were forbidden. Chaplaincies in many educational institutions were suppressed. The decrees of bishops were made subject to the royal *exequatur*. The report for the year 1866 gave evidence of 108 episcopal sees left vacant because of exile or imprisonment of the bishops or because of the deliberate interference on the part of the government.

And if the clergy was, as was claimed, "the enemy of the State," then the logic of the liberals demanded the extirpation of the clergy, a fact accomplished by the breaking up of the diocesan seminaries and the drafting of the young ecclesiastics into the army of the kingdom.

It is then small wonder that the *Civilità Cattolica* maintained an attitude of vigorous protest and denunciation of the government and the factions comprising the government who were so eager to despoil and weaken, and—if possible—to destroy the Church. "The so-called kingdom of Italy, born through robbery and sacrilege, seeks to maintain itself by those very same means."[52] This was one of the dominant ideas in the periodical in the four years from 1866 to 1870. For to the Jesuits in those years, "all roads led to Rome" in a way not intended by the one who first used that phrase. Everything that was discussed: finances, education, foreign affairs, book reviews, all had only one tune: the desire of the liberals to destroy the Church of Rome. It was not so much the city of Rome they wished, as the disappearance of all that Rome stood for.

This one true concept of the revolution which wishes neither republic nor monarchy, neither federation nor unification, neither progress nor reaction, neither Garibaldi nor Victor Emmanuel, neither Bourbons nor Napoleon, but desires all or rejects all, according to the circumstances,

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[52] *Civ. Catt.*, VI, 12 (1867), 5.

in favor of its sole aim, the destruction of Papal Rome. This idea is far from being well understood even by the most vehement revolutionists. And we are convinced that even the Italian government, as such, does not understand it.[53]

This view was corroborated by one of the newspapers of the revolutionists, *Il Diritto*,[54] whose words were quoted in the *Civiltà Cattolica* to strengthen the Catholic argument:

> The unification of Italy was born in the thought of Rome, without which the peninsula would perhaps never have dreamed of uniting into one body. Hence either Rome must clinch unification, or unification, deprived of that strong link remains incomplete, and an easy prey to destruction. Italy without Rome remains an interrupted idea, a political monstrosity, which could not hope for long duration.[55]

This was for the periodical another proof that the aim was not truly political, but was a moral and religious one. And as such it received from the editors an uninterrupted criticism and absolute opposition. Hence they could write in 1868:

> This abhorrence of the Italians for political unity, far from disappearing with time, has become still greater in proportion as the pestilent fruit of the governmental tree has fallen on the heads of the people. Whether it was the folly of the men in power, or the malevolent disposition of the factions by whom it was inspired, or the just punishment from heaven for so much injustice and so many sacrileges, certain it is that in every branch of public affairs there has been no good done, and conditions have even become so much worse that they can no longer be endured.[56]

From these expressions of editorial opinions, one could hardly fail to see what was the main idea of the *Civilità Cattolica* as regards the unification of Italy. It is true, that as time neared the year 1870 the attacks became less frequent, not because of failing interest in the question, but because so much of the periodical was devoted to matters concerning the approaching Vatican Council. Yet even in the articles

[53] *Ibid.*, p. 526.

[54] *Il Diritto*, founded in Turin, was transferred to Florence in 1865, and again transferred in 1871, to Rome. A. Depretis, the supporter of Mazzini who was to be premier, 1876-1879, and again, 1881-1887, was one of its prominent editors.

[55] From *Il Diritto*, October 20, 1867; quoted in *Civ. Catt.*, VI, 12 (1867), 535-536.

[56] *Civ. Catt.*, VII, 4 (1868), 8.

pertaining to the council, the *Civilità Cattolica* usually managed to reaffirm in some form or other its fundamental and unvarying opposition to the government of unified Italy, which it regarded as having come into being through the power of illegal force, and hence could be viewed only as a usurpation of the fundamental rights of the people of Italy.

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BOOK REVIEWS

GENERAL CHURCH HISTORY

Histoire de l'église en Belgique. Two Volumes. By E. DE MOREAU, S.J. [Museum Lessianum—Section Historique, Nos. 1 and 2.] (Bruxelles: L'Édition Universelle; Bruges: Desclée de Brouwer. 2 ed., 1945. Pp. xviii, 388; 501. 240 frs. and 280 frs. belges.)

Louvain's most distinguished godchild of this generation is the Museum Lessianum, a collection of scholarly works in various fields by Jesuit fathers. An historical section is auspiciously inaugurated by these two volumes, a second and greatly revised edition of two volumes which appeared in 1940. The author, a student of Canon Cauchie, has spent a long life in the field and is a member of the Royal Historical Commission and of the Royal Academy of Belgium. He hopes in six volumes and a few years to bring the work up to 1914, accomplishing thereby what Cauchie planned. Volume I treats of the formation of Christian Belgium from its origins to the middle of the tenth century. Volume II takes up the formation of the mediaeval Church, 950-1100. The extent to which the work complements Henri Pirenne's *Histoire de Belgique* may be judged by the fact that the latter devotes but 170 pages to these eleven centuries.

Père de Moreau brought to good paper and an excellent press a manuscript scientifically faultless and attractively illustrated. Every aid is offered, even to chronological tables and a concordance of the two editions. Outstanding is the author's zeal in providing summaries every several pages. A lengthy treatment of miniatures (II, 311-362) is the work of A. Boutemy. Here the first person is used and the apparatus is weak, but the sweep is masterful.

The reader of Volume I will find very many certified facts on the Irish influence. Volume II calls frequent attention to the distinction between a parish church and a baptismal church, to which recourse is had for that sacrament. Even the baptistery of the Liège cathedral is called a baptismal church (II, 363). Choirs singing antiphonally the length of a church must have been impressive, despite difficulties (II, 369). Of interest, too, is the report that World War II bombardments uncovered early churches (II, 367). Of linguistic interest are the following. Polyptych and breviary are used to designate monastic inventories (II, 229). Realism is the *in re* doctrine and nominalism the *in voce* (II, 291, n. 2). *Armarius* is used for librarian, *bibliotheca* for Bible (II, 302) and *gilde* for a fraternity of heretics (II, 418).

Objections may be made. Though published in 1945 the work has a reference to a publication of 1946 (I, 381) and one to the exact pagination

of the author's Volume III which is not yet at the reviewer's hand (II, 386). Thor is identified with Hercules, though later correctly aligned (I, 73, 128). Apropos, De Vries' *Die Religion der Südgermanen* should be in the bibliography. One may still doubt that Charles Martel proposed to St. Willibrord that he evangelize Frisia (I, 99, 111, n. 1, 112, 207). The existence of the ancient baptistery of Poitiers proves that such a construction was not unknown to the Francs and especially St. Radegonde (I, 114, 75). St. Braulio was not a contributing author to *De viris illustribus* (II, 281).

Typographically the University of California became the University of Caledonia (I, 229). Max Rooses' *Ars Una: Flandre* is listed as *L'Art en Flandre* (II, 332). For *calender* read *calendar* and for *Henri* read *Henry* (I, 100, n. 4). Three capitals are needed for proper adjectives in the note to I, 164. For *Aquincinctini* read *Aquicinctini* (II, 190, n. 1), for *Mogran* read *Morgan* (II, plate 3) and for *de* read *des* (II, 465, 1.1). A title shows a lacuna in II, 287, n. 2. On plate 3 of Volume I for *p. 11* read *p. 7*, and on page 7 read *pl. III* for *pl. IV*.

One quotation sums up a sad fact running through even these early centuries: Belgium is *un pays d'entre-deux* (II, 316).

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Saints' Lives and Chronicles in Early England. By CHARLES W. JONES. (Ithaca: Cornell University Press. Pp. xiii, 232. $3.00.)

Mr. Jones began his mediaeval studies with an edition of St. Bede's works *de temporibus.* In this second study editing gives way to literary criticism—the attempt "to formulate some of the principles" which guided the composition of early English hagiography and chronicles—a task, however, more closely associated with chronology than we might realize.

Jones started where the works themselves began, with the two calendars needed by every church: the Julian with its unchanging recurrence of dates, whereon the natal days of martyrs and other saints were recorded for yearly commemoration, and the Easter tables which bore the dates of movable feasts for each particular year of a cycle. From the former, which tended towards ever greater inclusiveness, derived the martyrology, historical martyrology, and hence the developed saint's life. The Easter table, recording as it did the unique event rather than the ever-recurring, formed the basis for the annals and chronicle. The person concerned with the liturgy was thus from the start confronted with two "contrasting literary patterns, conventions, and traditions." One was built mainly about religious, the other about secular material; each type developed in turn its own style: the chronicle and chronicle-biography excluding as far as

possible the miraculous, the hagiography glorying in it. Bede's *History of the Abbots* is factual, realistic, succinct, and without miracles; his *Life of St. Cuthbert* is a generalized and idealized portrait, replete with miracles, verbose.

Jones' analysis of this fundamental contrast is acute. Proceeding from Père Delehaye's work, as anyone must who deals with hagiography, he sees in the English saints' lives a highly conventionalized literary form the purpose of which he expresses in Browning's words, as to "give us no more of body than shows soul." And soul was best shown by miracle and analogy to scriptural truth. The miracles not only became conventional and multiplied, but were even frequently quoted word for word with only the saints' and place names changed. Undoubtedly this results in part, as Jones explains, from a very vivid realization (as a later mediaeval writer states it) that "all things are common in the communion of saints." What the author does not point out clearly enough is 1) that miracles are not merely the *literary* attestation of virtue, and 2) that miracles even as they are to be witnessed today tend to be of a conventional nature—the stigmata and prognostications of a Father Pio, for instance.

As might be expected from the author's earlier work the greatest value of this present study lies in its detailed analysis of Bede's methods of dating. Jones established the point that Bede for the most part drew his dates from the source material he had at hand and only rarely calculated his own dates. He arrives at the principle, therefore, that "an analysis of the time references, especially the mode of calculating time, will indicate Bede's sources to us." Applying this to the *Ecclesiastical History* he sees the *recapitulatio* as a set of Dionysiac annals to which Bede added earlier materials, collated from the A.U.C. and pre-Dionysiac tables when necessary. The *History* itself Jones happily sees as a fusion of chronicle and hagiography, moving at the same time on the two planes of the temporal and the eternal.

This slim volume contains also a translation of the Monk of Whitby's *Life of St. Gregory* and of Felix's *Life of Guthlac*. These translations I have not checked. Justification for their inclusion, especially in view of the criticism of Gasquet's edition of the *Life of Gregory* and without any further checking with the manuscript, seems a little thin. Apparently they are to serve as illustrations for remarks of the text.

In view of the value of the main study of this volume it is unfortunate that Jones has introduced it with such a flippant chapter. He must know that humor, when it is not based upon sympathy, is apt to become mordant. Sympathy he has when he deals in detail with a text or an author, but not apparently for the over-all ideal of the period. If he had studied at all the sources for the monastic *horarium* he would have avoided some puerile paragraphs. He overstresses favorite deductions such as the

all-inclusive nature of the choir master's profession, even to subordinating to it the priestly office, and neglecting spiritual reading and the training for the priesthood as reasons for the existence of the monastic school. Throughout the book approximations on small points invite challenge, but to deal with them here would be tedious. Enough to bear in mind that if the mediaeval wisdom was not a sufficient substitute for knowledge, neither are knowledge and urbanity a substitute for wisdom.

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The English Clergy and Their Organization in the Later Middle Ages. By A. HAMILTON THOMPSON. (Oxford: At the Clarendon Press; New York: Oxford University Press. 1947. Pp. xv, 327. $5.50.)

The work of Professor Thompson is held in honor by all who study the Church in mediaeval England. During a long lifetime he has lived with the sources, especially those of the northern shires, not only teaching but serving on various learned commissions and editorial boards, and himself editing a number of volumes of important texts. The present volume is the publication of his Ford Lectures given at Oxford in 1933. The delay in printing has been due in part to the author's desire to include fresh illustrative material, and this is now provided in abundance—not alone in copious footnotes, but over 100 pages of documents are given as appendixes. The book throughout is based directly on the sources, with only incidental use of other modern studies, and so the postponement of publication is of little significance.

The volume deals with the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries and thus is a complement to Moorman's *Church Life in England in the Thirteenth Century* that appeared three years ago. It is the clergy themselves that are studied rather than institutions; yet, due partly to choice and partly to the nature of the evidence, it is the clergy on their institutional side. Professor Thompson explains that though many bishops were prominent in their day, they are considerably less known to us as personalities than some of two and three centuries earlier, as their characters are lost behind records which are almost wholly administrative. In fact, he shows that this pre-eminence of law and administration over both personal and spiritual elements is precisely one of the characteristics of the period, when the Church was dignified and orthodox but lacking in enthusiasm and inspiration.

Chapters are devoted to bishops, diocesan officials, collegiate chapters, parish clergy, chantries, and monasteries; friars appear only as "suffragan" (i.e., auxiliary) bishops. In general the picture is about what would be

expected, one not so much of corruption as of contentment with routine mediocrity out of which corruption sometimes sprang. "The sheer weight of custom resisted all demands for the internal reform of the Church;" one might amplify this to "custom and vested interests." For it was vested interests that proved a chief stone of stumbling—the power of the crown to fill episcopal sees with civil servants who were absentees from their dioceses, advowsons in the hands of laymen, church benefices treated by the clergy as titles of honor and sources of income, the many compromises between bishops and various ecclesiastical bodies (cathedral chapters, monasteries, archdeacons) whereby the bishops lost control of considerable parts of their dioceses.

Some sections are of special interest. Thus we have an unusually full description of some of the diocesan officials—vicars general, auxiliary bishops, and archdeacons. The last were usually absentees like their diocesan bishops, while the work was carried on by vicars general and other deputies. "Suffragan" bishops were hired as needed for ordinations and consecrations, but were seldom given any regular standing, for fear that they might gain permanent rights and privileges for themselves at the expense of the ordinary.

The treatment of chantries and chantry priests is especially notable. Not only have they a chapter to themselves, but another forty-five pages are given to them in the appendix where we find three sets of statutes regulating colleges of chantry priests, i.e., groups of diocesan priests under a warden, who drew a settled income, lived a common life, and were obligated to daily Mass and office in choir for the benefit of the founder's family and friends. The statutes are detailed, and give us a picture of popular devotion and liturgical observances, and also of the quasi-religious life lived by the group of diocesan priests. They had little work to do beyond the daily services; but for their protection they were bound to a common dormitory and common refectory where there was silence with devotional reading during meals; clothing was uniform, there was a vow of obedience to both the statutes and the warden, residence was required, visiting and visitors were limited, and all had to be in their house by dark.

The final appendix prints the text of a long list of questions asked in 1408 at the episcopal visitation of a monastery. Against those modern writers who hold that visitations, at least in this late period, were little more than empty and even insincere formalities, Professor Thompson maintains that they were serious and that their records have a value for historians, even when they are favorable to the monasteries. No one is more familiar with these records than Professor Thompson and his judgment is of great weight.

One cannot well complain that an author confines himself within the

limits stated in his title. Still, the reviewer continues to hope that sometime some competent scholar will cover a broader ground and give us an account of other aspects of clerical life—education, pastoral work, devotional customs, the books they owned and read and wrote (modern catalogues of manuscripts give clues to books owned by priests and parish churches in the fifteenth century). The extensive devotional literature of the period is not even mentioned in the present volume, nor the literature aimed to instruct clergy and people in the teachings of the faith. Professor Thompson might answer that he has written one book and not two or three; this one is excellent, and both author and publisher are to be congratulated on it. It is to be hoped that it receives the welcome it deserves.

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A Critical Analysis of Richard Hooker's Theory of the Relation of Church and State. By CLETUS F. DIRKSEN, C.PP.S. (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press. 1947. Pp. viii, 148. $1.25.)

Literary critics are generally agreed that Elizabethan prose nowhere found purer or more eloquent expression than in Richard Hooker's *Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity.* The primary purpose of the treatise, however, was not stylistic but polemical. In much the same way that John Locke a century later sought to justify against adherents of monarchical absolutism the crass form of class government erected by the engineers of the "Glorious Revolution," so Hooker elaborated his theory to refute Puritan criticism of the Elizabethan religious settlement and to demonstrate the superior "reasonableness" of the Anglican position on Church-State relations as contrasted with the Catholic position.

In some aspects Hooker's apologia is a curious medley of mediaevalism and nationalism; in others, it is an attempt to blend essentially irreconcilable elements of Catholic and Protestant teaching through the catalyst of reason. His social philosophy is in substantial harmony with the principles enunciated by Thomas Aquinas. No schoolman would take serious exception to his concept of law or to his theories of human nature, the origin and nature of the State, and the extent of authority to be exercised by the magistrate in the sphere of civil affairs. On the other hand, he is basically Protestant in his theology of the Church. As the author accurately epitomizes, "Fundamentally Hooker accepted the definition of a Church as presented by Luther and Calvin, but he permitted and justified certain principles and practices which were abominated and outlawed by the Reformers as papish superstitions" (p. 93).

Obviously, then, the crux of the study under review is centered upon this compromising concept of the Church. Attempting a critical analysis

of his subject's views the investigator finds himself confronted with a multitude of perplexing problems. Nowhere does Hooker offer a systematic development of his theory. Moreover, in his discussions of this paramount topic serious aberrations in his otherwise admirable logic occur. Adopting the Protestant concept of an invisible and a visible Church, he endows the former with a distinctively supernatural and purely spiritual character. Though it alone is the true Church, it demands only a strictly internal relationship between God and man. Even greater inconsistencies appear in his treatment of the visible Church. It must have some supernatural character since through it the two proper sacraments, to which Hooker attributes the power of causing grace, are administered. Yet this visible society has the same source of origin as that of civil organization. In matters purely spiritual the bishops are subject only to God, but in all external acts they are under the authority of the crown. The author's conjectural solution to this pivotal complexity of jurisdiction is as satisfactory as the text will permit. Since the action which causes the sacramental grace is external, he concludes that the king could prevent its performance, even though it is a supernaturally decreed action. Consequently, the crown is the supreme head of the Church of England.

Can one escape the conclusion that Hooker was merely rationalizing a *fait accompli* to the best of his ability and employed his literary and controversial talents to keep the people submissive by training them in obedience to all mandates of the crown? Sympathetic though he unquestionably tries to be, the author cannot absolve his subject from motives of expediency.

CLARENCE J. RYAN

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AMERICAN CHURCH HISTORY

Ein Gnadenstrom zur neuen Welt und seine Quelle. Die Leopoldinen-Stiftung zur Unterstuetzung der amerikanischen Missionen. Ihr Werden und Wirken auf Grund der Quellen dargestellt von JOHANNES THAUREN, S.V.D. (Wien-Moedling: Missionsdruckerei St. Gabriel. 1940. Pp. 224.)

This ninth volume of *Sankt Gabrieler Studien,* even though it has reached this country only eight years after publication, should be brought to the attention of the American historian as an important adjunct to the mission history of the Church in the United States. It is the first full-lengh history of the Leopoldinen-Stiftung written from the Austrian viewpoint; and it assumes a certain degree of importance because it is based on the archives of the society, which were thought to have been destroyed but were found intact in the archiepiscopal archives of Vienna.

The author has augmented these findings by new research in the Hof-und Staatsarchiv of Vienna, the archives of Propaganda, and of the Munich Ludwig-Missionsverein.

Although the author's findings do not materially change the general conclusions of American historians concerning the society, they open new documentation that is quoted very liberally and in detail in the first part of the book, "Das Werden der Leopoldinen-Stiftung." From comparison with the archival material, the author states definitely that the translation of letters from correspondents in the United States was usually literal to such a degree that literary quality was usually sacrificed (pp. 76, 80). His explanation for the separate mission foundation in Austria-Hungary differs somewhat from the one usually accepted, but it appears very plausible (p. 28). He definitely sets the date of the foundation of the society on December 8, 1828 (p. 42). He successfully defends the society against the accusations of Josephism and political intrigue (pp. 60, 62). But his assertion that Dubourg and Francis I met at the Congress of Laibach, which he later uses as the basis for another statement, can hardly be maintained in the light of historical facts (p. 25).

In the second part, "Das Wirken der Leopoldinen-Stiftung," the author devotes the first chapter to a description of the conditions in the Church in the United States during the early years of the society. Even though the description is based on the surveys by Bishop England and Father Dubuisson, as found in the archives and partially printed in the *Berichte*, it does not agree with many of the newer historical findings. The next two chapters on the results of the society's efforts and on the gradual decline of the society are based on archival material and will, therefore, prove valuable to the historian, at least by implication.

The third part, "Persoenlichkeiten um die Leopoldinen-Stiftung," is historically interesting on account of the biographical sketches of Rese, Baraga, Pierz, Raffeiner, Weninger, and Neumann, and, in lesser detail, of approximatly 230 other correspondents whose letters appeared in the *Berichte*. The interest rests, not so much in the sketches themselves, which are accessible in greater detail, as in the exact notation of each of their letters as found in the printed reports. This is an important index that has long been hoped for by the church historian and should prove most helpful. An appendix also cites all the letters in the *Berichte* from the dioceses in communication with the society. In this connection it is interesting to note that the author insists that the name of Rese must be written without the accents, which the bishop added only at times for the correct pronunciation.

Cardinal Innitzer, Archbishop of Vienna, appends some concluding remarks to the book, in which he expresses his appreciation for the work accomplished by the Leopoldinen-Stiftung and the returns made by the

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Catholics of the United States to Austria in the days of stress after World War I. He then explains why the society can no longer remain in existence. Unfortunately, the author has given no index to the book itself. Yet the Catholic historian will always be appreciative of Dr. Thauren's efforts to open the archives of the Austrian mission society, to present an index of the *Berichte*, and to give this new viewpoint of the Leopoldinen-Stiftung.

THEODORE ROEMER

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A Fire Was Lighted: The Life of Rose Hawthorne Lathrop. By THEODORE MAYNARD. (Milwaukee: Bruce Publishing Co. 1948. Pp. x, 443. $3.50.)

Rose Hawthorne's life was the living version of an old, old plot: the romance of the fair princess who chooses to leave the *beau monde* and devote herself to the service of the poor. Such a story is bound to become a "twice-told tale." As a matter of fact, it has become a thrice-told tale with the appearance of the book under review. James J. Walsh was the first to write a full length biography of Rose Hawthorne Lathrop. His *Mother Alphonsa* appeared in 1930, just four years after her death. Mrs. Katherine Burton's semi-fictional and extremely popular *Sorrow Built a Bridge* was published in 1937. Theodore Maynard now adds to his list of able American Catholic biographies a third life of this youngest child of Nathaniel Hawthorne. *A Fire Was Lighted* is the compassionate story of a compassionate woman.

In preparation for a more comprehensive study of his subject, Mr. Maynard has examined what are apparently all the available published and manuscript sources. He has divided his material into three sections. "Rose Hawthorne" recounts the almost Utopian family life of the Nathaniel Hawthornes. "Mrs. Lathrop" treats the Bohemian existence of George and Rose Hawthorne Lathrop. "Mother Alphonsa" relates the final discovery of her vocation, neither in Utopia nor Bohemia, but among the cancerous poor of the lower East Side.

Although *A Fire Was Lighted* is one of Mr. Maynard's most ambitious works, it cannot be called his most successful. The first part succeeds in recreating the ineffable mood of the Hawthorne household, the brooding tenderness of the great novelist, the starry-eyed devotion of his wife Sophia. The third part, drawing on the rich records of the Dominican Sisters Servants of Relief for Incurable Cancer, which Mother Alphonsa founded, is a competent, lively story of her career of creative charity. But the middle section of the book, which covers the period of Rose's

education and married life, falls short of the other two parts. One who is accustomed to Mr. Maynard's usually facile style will find the reading rather rugged here.

Rose Hawthorne herself is partly to blame for this. She was naturally rather distant, or at least not much given to confiding her feelings to others. As her brother Julian once wrote: "She had no girl confidants, and in spite of her beauty and charm, she disturbed rather than won her male acquaintance . . . One might almost say that she never really met people at all, for all her impersonal cordiality and resource" (p. 156). Thus it happens that in the extensive correspondence of these years, which Dr. Maynard has sifted carefully (and quoted perhaps more fully than was necessary), there is little which really reveals her inner feelings.

In one respect, however, the author is at fault. He has always been opposed to formal footnotes and to much else of contemporary scholarly apparatus. And it must be admitted that his own books go a long way towards proving his contention. But this is not true in the present instance. Utilizing many hitherto unpublished letters, he has written what is properly footnote material (date, address, addressee, postmark, etc.,) into the narrative proper. No prose can flow smoothly over such obstacles. The publishers are to be congratulated for what is, materially speaking, a well manufactured book. Only a few minor slips have escaped the proof reader. The most important of these is the misspelling, on page 398, of the name of Antonio Filicchi.

There is an adequate index.

ROBERT F. MCNAMARA

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GENERAL HISTORY

The Natural Law: A Study in Legal and Social History and Philosophy. By HEINRICH A. ROMMEN. Translated by THOMAS R. HANLEY, O.S.B. (St. Louis: B. Herder Book Co. 1947. Pp. xi, 290. $4.00.)

This brilliant synthesis of the varying concepts of natural law through the ages with resultant moral, juridical, and legal implications for man, considered as an individual, and as a member of politically organized society, is a translation of the work *Die ewige Wiederkehr des Naturrechts,* which Dr. Rommen published at Leipzig in 1936. This work, considerably enlarged and revised, has been translated into English by Father Thomas R. Hanley, O.S.B. Its fifteen chapters have been distributed into two parts, namely, the history of the idea of natural law, and the philosophy and content of natural law. Its basic thesis is that the true concept of natural law, the *jus naturale perenne* of philosophy, has survived numerous attempts to corrupt or destroy it, and that conformity to it is essential for the peace and happiness of mankind. The historical findings of the

treatise reveal the perpetual recurrence of the true concept of natural law, despite temporary set-backs, e.g., at the hands of Hume's agnosticism and Bentham's utilitarianism. The emptiness of the illusory victory of positivism is demonstrated by the present renascence of scholastic natural law concepts in the West.

The massive concentration of learning, which has been critically presented, is evidenced by an explanation of the distinctive contributions made to the notion of natural law by practically all the great philosophers and juridical thinkers of the occidental world from the days of Heraclitus, Aristotle, Plato, and Socrates. The maximum utilization of the comparative and historical method, in the exposition of the scholastic natural law, renders the book unique. The resulting integration provides a volume of inestimable value for students of jurisprudence, philosophy, and political science. This integration manifests an unusual competence in abstract philosophy and in its application to the fields of politics and jurisprudence. Dr. Rommen published at Leipzig in 1936. This work, considerably enlaw, the content of natural law, natural law and positive law, and the structure of the sciences in his original, contributive, and panoramic survey of the natural law. These have been discussed with great insight against a thought-background, which postulates the principle of primacy of will over reason or intellect in both God and man. This principle implies that the nature of things and their essential order are knowable by man. Deviations from this principle, by such writers as Duns Scotus and Occam, have led to the unfortunate concept of the omnicompetent state of Hobbes, Machiavelli, and others.

Only the true notion of natural law affords an adequate objective norm for judging the justice or injustice of human laws. Freedom from political despotism at home and preservation of peace abroad are the exclusive fruits of just laws and conformity thereto. The author writes that, "the rule of law, the paramount law binding both the ruler and ruled, necessarily implies the idea of natural law as the critical norm for the existing positive legal order and for the demand to change it, if it has become unjust."

Mr. Rommen, who holds the degree of Dr. Rer. Pol. from Muenster and of Dr. Jur. Utr. from Bonn, now professor of political science in the College of St. Thomas, St. Paul, fled the Hitlerian terror in 1938, after having suffered imprisonment at the hands of the nazis. He was placed under police surveillance by them because of his work and writings. The truth of the conclusion which he has reached, in his profound and penetrating treatise, i.e., that the *jus naturale perenne* is "the ideological basis of the struggle against totalitarianism," has been tested in the crucible of personal suffering and experience.

BRENDAN F. BROWN

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State and Morals. A Study in Political Conflicts. By T. D. WELDON. (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co. 1947. Pp. xi, 301. $3.00.)

That moral sentiments have much to do with the form and organization of political society is, for a Christian, no new discovery. The concept of the natural law, governing and limiting civil law, has been a central concept of Catholic social teaching through the centuries. Mr. Weldon shows the intimate connection between moral theory and the forms of political organization. Because he has such a commanding grasp of politcal theory and its necessary dependence upon morality, this book clarifies and organizes the political philosophy of the various forms of the state. Whether one agrees or not with his conclusions, every student of politics should read this brilliant exposition of the reasons why states fall into categories broadly listed as organic or democratic.

The author rejects any absolute theory of *the* state as such. He divides all states upon the basis of regard for the individual into organic (the individual exists for the state), and democratic or artificial (the state exists for the individual). The first we might characterize as government *for* the people whether they like it or not, the latter as government *by* the people. Democratic states fall into two classes: by force or by consent. As theorists of the organic state he quotes Plato, Aristotle, Rousseau (general will) and Hegel; the theorists of the democratic state by force: Marx and Hobbes; the theorist of the democratic state by consent: John Locke. The last type of state he asserts most satisfactorily fulfills all the requirements of individual dignity and responsibility and this in its individualist form, not in its radical form. As to the classification of existing states into these divisions, the U.S.S.R., Germany, and Japan are (the last two were) organic states; England and the United States democratic: the former of the individualist type, the latter of the radical type. Democratic states by force exist only when true democracy becomes corrupt and one class within it (aristocracy, proletariat, etc.,) assumes the government and rules for its own benefit. He places no actual states in this category.

Some practical results of his categories are interesting, e.g., no organic state can be expected ever to participate sincerely in any world political organization, the possibility of re-education for democracy in Germany or Japan, is practically non-existent, and by consent democracy is non-exportable since it rules out imposition by force and cannot be assured by forms or institutions where the moral sentiments of the people do not hold the individual as the important and responsible unit of society. The all important question of the possibility of peace between regimes ideologically opposed (as now between Russia and the United States) depends upon a lack of dogmatism about *the* perfect state or about the moral theories upon which differing types of states are based. It should then be possible to

arrive at compromises on problems of second-order (economic) and to live in peace.

Subjectivism and relativism make many of Mr. Weldon's ideas on morality highly unacceptable guides to social and political reform. Granted the fact that there is no one absolute idea of the state, yet there are goals at which to aim in every political set-up, e.g., respect for legitimate individual rights, the common good as being more important than the individual good where they differ. As Mr. Weldon so well argues, ". . . neither universal nor limited liberal democracy can produce a complete theory of the State except in relation to an express or implied system of morals" (p. 128). He goes on, ". . . democratic theory depends on moral philosophy and does not include it as a by-product (as organic theory is bound to do) or exclude it altogether, which is what a force theory, consistently developed, is destined to achieve" (*ibid.*). Indeed, it would seem that strong Christian moral philosophy, insisting on the inalienable rights of the individual, would mark the strongest bulwark of democracy by consent. Moreover, the concept of an authority coming from God to any government constituted by the people would tend to remove the admittedly objectionable features of a regime lacking in directive authority over the individual. The Christmas message of Pope Pius XII in 1944 on democracy would help to clarify some of Mr. Weldon's misapprehensions on Catholic political philosophy which from its Aristotelianism he characterizes as essentially organic in emphasis.

THOMAS F. MAHER

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MEDIAEVAL HISTORY

Mélanges Auguste Pelzer. Etudes d'histoire littéraire et doctrinale de la scolastique mediévale offertes à Monseigneur Auguste Pelzer. Scriptor de la Bibliothèque Vaticane à l'occasion de son soixantedixième anniversaire. [Université de Louvain. Recueil de travaux d'histoire et de philologie, 3me série, 26me fascicule.] (Louvain: Bibliothèque de l'Université. 1947. Pp. xix, 662.)

This commemorative volume begins with Léon Noël's homage to Monsignor Pelzer and F. Van Steenberghen's sketch of his scientific career and bibliography of his works. It ends with indices of persons, anonymous works cited, and manuscripts. The body of the book consists of twenty-two important studies.

The nature of some of the studies is apparent from their titles: J. de Ghellinck, "*Pagina* et *Sacra pagina*. Histoire d'un mot et transformation de l'objet primitivement désigné" (pp. 23-59); O. Lottin, "Quatre Sommes théologiques fragmentaires de l'école d'Anselme de Laon" (pp. 81-107);

A. Landgraf, "Das Problem *Utrum Christus fuerit homo in triduo mortis* in der Frühscholastik" (pp. 109-158) and Lynn Thorndike, "Traditional Medieval Tracts concerning Engraved Astrological Images" (pp. 217-274).

Several studies are contributions to our meager knowledge of certain mediaeval writers. A. van de Vyver, "Hucbald de Saint-Amand, écolâtre, et l'invention du Nombre d'or" (pp. 61-79), presents briefly Hucbald's known work, confirms Cappuyns' conjecture that Hucbald is the author of glosses on Porphyry's *Isagoge*, and on the basis of newly discovered glosses on *computus*-treatises, assigns to him the invention of the Golden Number. T. Käppeli, "Der literarische Nachlass des sel. Bartholomäus von Vincenza O.P. (+ 1270)" (pp. 275-301), catalogues Bartholomew's extant and lost works. The lost treatise *Liber de septem domini verbi in cruce prolatis* (p. 294) could be added to the list drawn up by A. Wilmart, "Le grand poème bonaventurien sur les sept paroles du Christ en croix," *Revue Bénédictine* XLVII (1935), 264-278. Käppeli points out (p. 301) that the treatise ascribed to Bartholomew by W. Berges, *Die Fürstenspiegel des hohen und späten Mittelalters* (Leipzig, 1938), p. 313, belongs to Vincent of Beauvais. M. Grabmann, "Jakob von Douai, ein Aristoteleskommentator zur Zeit des hl. Thomas von Aquin und des Siger von Brabant" (pp. 389-413), adds two commentaries to the three known to Hauréau and edits seven questions of James' commentary on Aristotle's *De anima*. E. Longpré, "L'oeuvre scolastique du cardinal Jean de Murro, O.F.M. (+ 1312)" (pp. 467-492), shows that John is the author of the *Commentary on the Sentences* contained in Paris, Nat. lat. 16407. He edits two questions of the commentary, describes a set of *Quaestiones disputatae* of John, and edits one of them. P. Glorieux, "Jean de Saint-Germain, Maître de Paris et copiste de Worcester" (pp. 513-529), adds biographical data. John of St. Germain (or John Germeyn), whose career was hitherto known from 1301 to 1315, was at Oxford from 1298 to 1301. S. Harrison Thomson, "Walter Burley's Commentary on the *Politics* of Aristotle" (pp. 557-578), discusses Burley's popularity into the sixteenth century, edits the introduction to his commentary, and illustrates his method of commenting.

Light is thrown on one problem or other of better known scholastics. F. Henquinet, "Trois petits écrits théologiques de saint Bonaventure à la lumière d'un quatrième, inédit" (pp. 195-216), argues from a rough draft, which he has found and edits here, to the authenticity of the "Second Epilogue" of Bonaventure's *Commentary on the Sentences*. He establishes the chronological order of the four writings: *Praelocutio* (which should be called Epilogue to Book I), the rough draft, Second Epilogue, *Additamentum*. R. M. Martin, "Notes critiques au sujet de l'Opuscule IX de saint Thomas d'Aquin, ses manuscrits, ses éditions" (pp. 303-323),

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upholds the authenticity of this work (No. IX in the Rome edition of 1570, *Responsio ad Fr. Johannem Vercellensem . . . .*) and shows that the value of the known manuscripts is only corrective. A. Mansion, "Le texte du *De intellectu* de Philipon corrigé à l'aide de la collection de Monseigneur Pelzer" (pp. 325-346) corrects the faulty edition by M. De Corte in *Le commentaire de Jean Philipon sur le Troisième livre du "Traité de l'Ame" d'Aristote,* (Liège and Paris, 1934). A. Teetaert, "Deux questions inédites de Gérard d'Abbeville en faveur du clergé séculier" (pp. 347-387), discusses the place of these questions in the quarrel between the diocesan clergy and the mendicant orders, describes the manuscripts in which they are found, analyzes them, and points out some characteristics of Gerard's manner. F. Van Steenberghen, "Le *De quindecim problematibus* d'Albert le Grand" (pp. 415-439), summarizes earlier opinion of the work and analyses its content. The work, written from the point of view of the philosopher, is not one of Albert's best. The author shows that the opinions refuted in articles 14 and 15 were not St. Thomas', and that Albert's correspondent was Gilles de Lessines. F. Pelster, "Thomas von Sutton und das Correctorium *Quare detraxisti*" (pp. 441-466) argues that this *correctorium,* edited by P. Glorieux [*Bibliothèque thomiste,* IX, (1927)] was not by Richard of Knapwell but by Thomas of Sutton, and dates it 1288/1292. J. P. Muller, "La thèse de Jean Quidort sur la béatitude formelle" (pp. 493-511), preparatory to an edition of John's *Commentary on the Sentences,* shows that John while striving to defend St. Thomas' view actually departed from it. The relevant question is published here.

The condemnation by the ecclesiastical authorities of Paris of a syllabus of errors (*Chartularium Universitatis Parisiensis* I, no. 128) is the subject of two studies. M. D. Chenu, "Le dernier atavar de la théologie orientale en Occident au XIIIe siècle" (pp. 159-181), sees as the milieu of the condemned propositions the evangelical movement represented especially by Joachim of Fiore and the attempts at syncretism of the newly-revived Christian Neo-Platonism and traditional Augustinianism. V. Doucet, "La date des condemnations parisiennes dites de 1241. Faut-il corriger le Cartulaire de l'Université?" (pp. 183-193), argues convincingly that the formal condemnation took place in 1244, following upon a censure and prohibition pronounced in 1241. Charles Balić, "La valeur critique des citations des oeuvres de Jean Duns Scot" (pp. 531-556) shows that citations made by contemporaries from the works of Duns Scotus and other late scholastics are without value for textual criticism but of great help in questions of authenticity and the like.

The dossier of catalogues of mediaeval libraries is increased by two studies. M. H. Laurent, "Guillaume des Rosières et la Bibliothèque pontifi-

cale à l'époque de Clément VI" (pp. 579-603), prints and discusses the inventory of William's collections (1343-1349) for the papal library from estates of deceased ecclesiastics. G. Meerseman, "La Bibliothèque des Frères Prêcheurs de la Minerve à la fin du XVe siècle" (pp. 605-634), prints, with a number of identifications, the catalogue of 426 volumes preserved in a copy made about 1550.

JOSEPH N. GARVIN

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MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

The Great Elector. By FERDINAND SCHEVILL. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1947. Pp. ix, 442. $5.00.)

In his foreword Professor Schevill makes it quite clear that his intention is not to add one more monograph, "a product of scholarship pure and simple," to all that has already been written about Frederick William, Elector of Brandenburg from 1640 to 1688. He "had in mind as audience not his professional colleagues but the broad community of cultivated men and women." Only a few footnotes show that he carefully studied, besides the works of other historians, chiefly German and French, the rich source material contained in the collections of documents relating to the reign of the Great Elector, which were published between 1864 and 1930. Interpreting them, he has succeeded well in offering us a very readable story of Frederick William's achievements and an accurate picture of his personality.

In a special introduction the author tries to explain why he started with three chapters on the general background. What he wrote in the first chapter about the Holy Roman Empire, particularly before and after the Thirty Years War, and in the second one about Brandenburg and the Hohenzollerns up to 1640, was obviously necessary in view of the character of the book. But he also attempted to give a "shorthand account of seventeenth century civilization," tracing its origin back to the Middle Ages, and that could hardly be done in the twenty-four pages of the third chapter.

Without, therefore, discussing various controversial statements in these preliminary remarks, the reviewer prefers to acknowledge the real value of the main body of the book, where Professor Schevill has so well organized his material in fourteen chapters, beginning with a description of how the new elector, actually a "beggar on horseback," had first to "survey his inheritance," and concluding with a study of "the Great Elector in history and legend." Although primarily interested in Frederick William's statesmanship in foreign relations, the author by no means neglected the domestic problems and he found the right place for discussing them

between the story of the first twenty years of the reign and the second phase of his foreign policy, dominated by Brandenburg's varying relations with Louis XIV. Another interruption of the political developments is, perhaps, less justified: the external problems of the last months of the reign could have been explained immediately after Chapter XIV, where the elector appeared "in French livery," and the interesting chapter on "family, court, and cultural activity," which is placed in between, should rather be connected with the family crisis over Frederick William's testament and with the brief description of his sickness and death.

It certainly was no easy task to present, not only the rather familiar issues of western European politics which the Great Elector had to face, but also his eastern entanglements, so important for the Prussian part of his domains. Fully aware of that importance, Professor Schevill devoted a long chapter to the Polish-Swedish War, 1655-1660, in the course of which Frederick William, by changing sides whenever convenient, obtained full sovereignty in his Duchy of Prussia, formerly a Polish fief. Since this is "properly regarded as his greatest achievement in the foreign field," the Treaty of Wehlau would have deserved a closer analysis, including the rights which remained reserved for Poland and the later conflicts between the elector and the Prussian estates. Describing these conflicts, the author does not justify Frederick William's ruthless and unscrupulous methods, but he is hardly fair to his opponents, not even to Hieronymus Roth whom an earlier American historian, Herbert Tuttle, rightly considered a hero in the defense of liberty. Calling such "an offense to common sense" and speaking of a "gross error," are really undeserved charges.

The contributions of Polish historiography to all those questions, particularly L. Kubala's large volume on *The War with Brandenburg* (Lwow, 1917), various discussions of the Kalckstein case, and K. Piwarski's recent *History of East Prussia* (Poznan, 1946), where 100 pages are given to the times of the Great Elector, were probably not available to Professor Schevill. But the main problem which escaped his attention, Sobieski's plan of regaining East Prussia through co-operation with France and Sweden, is briefly explained also in the latest Sobieski biography published in German by Otto Forst de Battaglia (Bern-Einsiedeln, 1946). The same scholar points out that in the Polish election of 1669 Frederick William only pretended to support the candidature of his old Neuburg enemy, but, as a matter of fact, he wanted the crown of Poland for himself, just as on an earlier occasion mentioned by Professor Schevill, who rightly speaks in this connection of a "mad ambition" without any chances of success; but he misses that same point in his brief chapter on the "Polish Interlude" after the abdication of John Casimir.

The Great Elector's latest biographer avoided any uncritical hero-

worship. He is very prudent in his analysis of the religious and national elements in Frederick William's policy, has no illusions as to his "political reliability" and moral standards, and on many occasions stresses his "cunning pursuit of self-interest at all costs." He considers it, however, indisputable that all the other rulers of the age acted exactly the same way, but he is less inclined to find a similar excuse for the will to conquest of Louis XIV. But if there was little "difference in principle" between the conduct of seventeenth-century statesmen, there certainly was some difference in the degree of "political opportunism."

These general remarks only show the vital interest of Professor Schevill's thoughtful and informative book which will not only interest many readers, but also provoke stimulating discussions among specialists.

OSCAR HALECKI

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The Coming of the French Revolution. 1789. By GEORGES LEFEBVRE. Translated by R. R. PALMER. (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1947. Pp. xx, 233. $3.00.)

Professor Lefebvre wrote this little book, entitled *Quatre-vingt-neuf* in French, as part of the sesquicentennial celebration of the French Revolution in 1939. That celebration was frustrated by the outbreak of war, and after Pétain had come to power, what was left of the stock of the book was destroyed. Since it has not been reprinted, Professor Palmer's translation makes available a manual difficult to get in the original language.

It is written for the general reader, but carefully, and with full regard for the standards of the historian. The specialist in the field will not find anything new here, but he will find a balanced and temperate account of the origins and early development of the French Revolution. Professor Lefebvre unmistakably lines himself up with those who feel that the French Revolution was a part of humanity's upward rise toward a better social order. He belongs on the left in modern French politics, not on the right. Furthermore, he belongs by sympathy and by his career in the higher educational system of the Third Republic with the secularist part of the contemporary French left.

What gives this little book its special interest is the evidence it affords that a conscientious scholar can in large part transcend the traditional one-sidedness and blindness of old-fashioned French republican historiography. Professor Lefebvre is not really anti-clerical. He nowhere accepts such shallow views of the role of the Church in the old regime and the early Revolution as Aulard, for instance, accepted. He is not an economic determinist. He does not hold that the Revolution was the spontaneous

uprising of a people suffering from want and oppression. He shows himself willing to accept the work of historians, usually politically on the right, who have emphasized the part played by organized minorities and skilled technicians of revolution in preparing the work of 1789. He analyses the complex antagonisms of classes in the old regime without oversimplifying them, and without indicating that he thinks them unnatural. Above all, his work is calm, straightforward, reasonable, with none of the truculence and dogmatism so often displayed on both sides in this long historians' debate over the French Revolution.

In part, no doubt, Professor Lefebvre writes as he does because he is by temperament a quiet and reasonable man, able to believe in certain political and ethical standards without detesting and vilifying all who do not share in every detail these standards. And yet it may well be that in part he writes as he does because the scholarly study of history, time, and the gradual softening of concrete issues aiding, really does have some sort of cumulative effect. In other words, the evidence of facts does in the long run count. Even a more partisan and more excitable historian, like Professor Gaston-Martin, who has much stronger anti-clerical feelings than Professor Lefebvre, has in his recent book on the Jacobins had to admit that the Jacobins were a minority, a pressure group, a self-conscious society within the larger French society. French historians of the great Revolution will probably for a long time still take sides for and against, but the range of their differences tends to narrow, and their tempers to improve.

CRANE BRINTON

Harvard University

AMERICAN HISTORY

Golden Multitudes. The Story of Best Sellers in the United States. By FRANK LUTHER MOTT. (New York: Macmillan Co. 1947. Pp. xii, 357. $5.00.)

The rewriting of history has often been done through widening its scope; today the purely political history has largely been superseded by the cultural or social history. In *Golden Multitudes* Professor Mott has widened the concept of literary history by shifting the spotlight from the choices of the literary critics, who have carefully sifted the high quality books from the others, to those of the people who bought or rented the books designated as "best sellers." *The Cambridge History of American Literature* does not mention Maria Monk's *Awful Disclosures;* yet its sale of hundreds of thousands of copies is recorded here and its influence is described elsewhere in a sad chapter in American church history. Therefore, a careful analysis of popular reading will bring to light many of the forgotten but important books in our American heritage.

In this resurvey of American literature from colonial times to 1945, the author could not take the arbitrary modern definition of a best seller concocted by publishers and booksellers; his criterion of taking "the sales figure required to make a book a best seller at one per cent of the total population of continental United States for the decade in which the book was published" (p. 17) is pragmatic and seemingly valid. Thus, sales required for the period before 1690, when the *Day of Doom, Pilgrim's Progress* and Bacon's *Essays* appeared, were 1,000 copies while the period after 1940 requires a sale of 1,300,000 copies. Adoption of this standard reduces the 285 year publishing output to 324 titles. These he describes in a combined chronological-classified sequence, evaluating briefly the authors and their products. *Golden Multitudes,* however, is not an annotated bibliography but a carefully integrated history of popular American reading, of authorship, and of the publishing practices devised to bring the golden shower. He defends the literary quality of the best seller up to 1905, stating that about sixty per cent were also among the "best books." After 1905 he admits there has been a decline in quality. One of the interesting analytical items is that fifteen percent of all best sellers in his list were written by clergymen.

In the late nineteenth century appeared two Catholic titles not included in Mott's history: Cardinal Gibbons' *Faith of Our Fathers,* with a sale of more than 2,000,000 copies and Conway's *Question Box,* with a sale of 2,677,000 as of November 15, 1945. Perhaps these would be ruled out as "manuals" but their inclusion could be justified on the ground that they answered the aspersions in such titles as Fox's *Book of Martyrs,* Sue's *Wandering Jew,* and the above-mentioned *Awful Disclosures.*

Beyond its value in resurrecting some of the influential titles in English and American literature, *Golden Multitudes* is worthwhile as a survey of publishing practices during three centuries. To the book clubs and the reprint publishers the author gives proper credit for their promotion of the best sellers. Not the least of his contributions is that of showing the extent of book piracy in the nineteenth century with its harmful effects on native American authorship, despite its value in bringing to the American public the products of Dickens, Scott, and others at a price far below that in their native land.

EUGENE P. WILLGING

The Catholic University of America

The Journals of Francis Parkman. Edited by MASON WADE. Two Volumes. (New York and London: Harper and Bros. 1947. Pp. xxv, 381; vii, 385-718. $10.00.)

When in 1940 Mason Wade went to Francis Parkman's old home on Chestnut Street in Boston, he was in search of some very elusive journals

which the distinguished American historian had kept while on the trail in various parts of America and of Europe. And when Mr. Wade discovered the journals in a forgotten drawer of Parkman's forgotten desk, his discovery was "one of the most dramatic incidents in the annals of American scholarship." So, at least, we are assured by the publisher's blurb on the jacket of the two volumes under review.

No student of American history will cavil at the significance of such an important find, although some may well wonder why recourse in the search was not had sooner to what appears to the untutored mind as an obvious place of storage for the journals. However, this is, indeed, a minor point, and the world of scholarship will share the opinion of Bernard DeVoto that this edition of the journals of Francis Parkman is a

> sizable and permanent enlargement of our cultural heritage. Parkman remains the greatest American historian, and here is an enormous bulk of material that lights up the workings of his mind, the processes by which he acquired and explored material, the bases of his judgment, his working habits, the frame of reference in which his great books are set. This is unique; we have no such data about any other historian. It will be both a necessity and an invaluable assistance from now on to every serious student of American history. . . . Wade's finding these notebooks and journals was a personal triumph and their publication is, for anyone who is interested in American history or American literature, momentous.

In the editor's interesting and informative preface, the story of Parkman's greatness is briefly recapitulated by Wade who, in 1942, used these journals as a partial basis for his biography, *Francis Parkman: Heroic Historian*. Here is furnished, too, an account of how Parkman used these conscientiously kept journals to "recapture the freshness of vision with which he first saw the chief scenes of the great historical drama." The *Journals* themselves were first used by Parkman as convenient receptacles for a vast amount of quite disparate information, ranging from soliloquies and scientific memoranda to disdainful entries such as that which we find recorded in his European journal, (1843-1844):

> The next day, I went to the Capuchin Convent [i.e., in Palermo] where the holy fathers keep many mummies in vaulted apartments under ground. I was so edified by the interesting spectacle that I bought a mass, for fifty cents, and appointed four o'clock the next morning to hear it performed in the sepulchres (p. 142).

Many of the entries in these journals are little more than memoranda, and hence it is entirely unlikely that those who peruse such entries will thereby be deterred from reading the fuller works of Parkman. In some cases at least, they provide little more than the dry bones and sinews which Parkman used as a basis of his more polished and liter-

ary treatment. He had made provision that his historical papers should be turned over to the Massachusetts Historical Society, while his historical library and maps were to go to Harvard. Charles Haight Farnham and, later, Henry Dwight Sedgwick, made at least partial use of the *Journals* in their respective biographical sketches of Parkman. Wade relates how, after 1904, the precious source material dropped out of sight until, as recorded above, he rediscovered them in an uninspected drawer of Parkman's two-sided desk in his Boston home.

> Evidently, when Sedgwick returned the materials loaned him for the writing of his biographical sketch, the manuscripts had been returned to their accustomed place in the desk; and, with the death of Parkman's sister, who had acted as his secretary, their hiding place had been forgotten (p. xix).

American historians will be grateful that the important task of editing these papers was undertaken by Mason Wade. When consideration is given to the possibilities of what an untrained or unskilled historcal craftsman might have done to these precious materials, there is all the more reason for gratitude that Wade has presented the text as Parkman wrote it, and added very full and enlightening editorial notes as well. Each of the fifteen journals has an informative introduction, which seeks to present the material in correlation with Parkman's life and works.

A minor point of criticism occurs to the reviewer: in some of the introductions Wade, quite naturally seeing far more in each journal than will the casual reader, seems to build up reader interest to a point which will hardly find satisfaction in some of the more prosaic and jejune entries which follow. However, for a scholarly and entirely competent editing of a work of first importance, American historians must remain grateful to Mr. Wade, whether or not they be in complete agreement that Parkman, not without his petulancies and certainly not without his (massive?) prejudices was, indeed, an "heroic historian."

JOHN BERNARD MCGLOIN

University of San Francisco

Moreau de St. Méry's American Journey [1793-1798]. Translated and edited by KENNETH ROBERTS and ANNA M. ROBERTS. (Garden City, New York: Doubleday and Co., Inc. 1947. Pp. xxi, 394. $5.00.)

Moreau de St. Méry is today known to American historians chiefly through the magnificent collection of French West Indian colonial documents which bears his name in the Archives Coloniales in Paris. Acquired during the years he served as lawyer and judge in French Santo Domingo and other of the Leeward Islands, the Collection Moreau de St. Méry has contributed much to an understanding of American colonial origins.

Moreau returned to France in 1784 as an official in the colonial office. With the outbreak of the Revolution he served as vice-president and moving spirit of the Paris Commune, and later as a member of the Constituent Assembly. Accession to power of the radical forces under Robespierre drove him into exile in America for a period of five years.

During his sojourn in the United States Moreau kept a journal in which he inscribed a wealth of detail concerning economic and social conditions in urban centers like New York, Philadelphia, and Norfolk. This is the journal here presented in translation. Moreau's *Voyage aux Etats-Unis de l'Amérique* has long been known to professional historians through the excellent Yale University Press version edited by Stewart L. Mims. This translation has value, therefore, because it makes available to the general public a circumstantial account of life as lived in the United States during the early years of our national independence.

Moreau's observations on American politics are not particularly acute. His comments on social manners and customs, while frequently entertaining and, on the whole, accurate, are not especially penetrating. He is given to long lists of prices, detailed descriptions of buildings, and somewhat windy accounts of business practices. Such details are, of course, prime grist for the social and economic historian's mill. They have, indeed, long since been utilized by competent historians.

This translaton is a splendidly idiomatic rendering of Moreau's eighteenth-century French. It is accompanied by a very modest number of footnotes, intended to clarify for the general reading public points which would in no way puzzle the professional investigator. The wide general popularity of this volume (for a long time among the ten best-sellers in the non-fiction field) must cause some wistful professional longing for similar presentations of other foreign recitals of our national origins. The literary eminence of Moreau's principal translator, who is widely known for his many successful historical novels, has insured a wide reception for this venture into the popular presentation of source materials. The literature of France and of other European countries abounds in such accounts, written at different periods by travelers of wit and perception. This rich and entertaining reservoir of information is practically closed to Americans who do not read their foreign languages with facility. Translations are normally tedious, costly, and unremunerative, and so are not published. Our national literature might be immensely enriched should Roberts and others of his caliber enlist the support of their reading public for other ventures of the kind.

JOHN J. MENG

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City of New York

IBERO-AMERICAN HISTORY

Latin America: An Historical Survey. By JOHN FRANCIS BANNON, S.J., and PETER MASTEN DUNNE, S.J. (Milwaukee: Bruce Publishing Co. 1947. Pp. x, 944. $6.50.)

A large number of textbooks on Latin American history have appeared since 1930. Though most of them have their own particular merits, they generally suffer from two defects. First, too few of them embody in the text a reasonable amount of the factual material made available by the publications of recent years; secondly, some aspects of the history of Latin America could be better developed and interpreted. The latter is especially true of the presentations available on the Catholic background of Latin America, and on the Church-State disputes which loom so large in the history of the Ibero-American nations. The volume under review proposes to remedy the defects noted above. Father Bannon of St. Louis University has devoted his talents to the presentation of the history of the colonial period of Spanish and Portuguese America, while Father Dunne of the University of San Francisco summarizes the history of the modern period. The very names of the authors should be a guarantee of their competence on the subject.

This historical survey, in the main, follows the standard textbook pattern. There are the two main divisions of colonial and modern Latin America, with approximately one-half of the volume allotted to each. The subdivision of the colonial period appears to be a further development and enlargement of the basic divisions of the late Charles E. Chapman's *Colonial Hispanic America;* but the necessity of including new material not available at the time of the publication of Chapman's work, and the additional material presented here on Indian civilizations, Spanish background, and rivalries in the Americas, have caused considerable shift in emphasis from that of the Chapman volume. The section on the national period is introduced by three chapters "Aftermath of Revolution," "Common Denominators of the National Period," and "Church and State." Father Dunne then gives sketches of the history of the individual countries. The text concludes with seven chapters which treat of "The Caribbean Nations," "The United States and Imperialism," "The Monroe Doctrine," "Inter-Americanism," and "Toward the Mid-Century" (this last being largely a statistical summary of the present position of Latin America as a whole). Each chapter of the volume is prefaced by a brief chronological outline and is followed by a short list of suggested readings in publications available in English; a group of bibliographical notes which immediately follow each of these listed readings refer the reader to other works, to occasional monographs, or to studies published in historical periodicals, as well as to histories and biographies available in Spanish or Portuguese. The text is illustrated by a goodly number of sketch maps.

It is practically impossible to write a book on Latin American history which will describe that history with absolute precision; the limitations of space forbid it. Yet, granted that fact, it must be said that either the Bannon-Dunne text was prepared with undue haste, or it has fallen a casualty to bad editing. The abundance of clumsy, and occasionally ungrammatical sentences, indicates that the volume would have enormously benefited by a thorough revision before publication. There are, moreover, an unusual number of typographical errors, especially in the bibliographical notes. The failure to revise or properly to edit the text results in a number of erroneous statements in the second half of the volume. For example, Carlos Antonio Lopez of Paraguay is described as a political prisoner released after the death of Francia (pp. 586-587). Bidlack's treaty of 1846 (p. 653) is described as a treaty made to facilitate the building of the Panama railroad—certainly an inadequate description of that important document. The Mexican moderate liberal, Gomez Pedraza, is called a conservative (p. 689), and on page 690 Gomez Pedraza is named as Mexican President; but several pages later it becomes clear that the author meant to write "Antonio López de Santa Anna." On page 692 one reads that the adoption of a centralist constitution by Mexico "led to" the Texan revolt; but the Texan revolt began before the centralist constitution was known to the Texans; and their use of this pretext was a *post factum* consideration. As for the typographical errors, two examples must suffice: the name of Oliveira Lima, on one or two reading lists, is mangled almost beyond recognition; and the Austrian Count Egon Corti is consistently called "Count Corti Egon."

Though Father Bannon's description of the colonial period is not entirely free of the defect of clumsy sentences and typographical errors which mar the volume, this presentation of the colonial history could serve as an excellent basis for instruction. His presentation is over-brief on the outline of the colonial governmental and economic systems; there is no real treatment of the slavery question and population distribution, and better use might have been made of the penetrating criticism of the reforms of Carlos III which is found in Roscher's *Spanish Colonial System* (p. 26). On the other hand a number of Father Bannon's chapters are unusually well done; and, in the main, the description of the colonial period fits Carlos Pereyra's definition of Hispanic American history as ". . .presencia de almas, no simple rememoración externa de hechos materiales."

Pereyra's definition fixes the weakness of the presentation of modern Latin American history in this volume. "Common Denominators of the National Period" would have been greatly improved if the author had made use of Cecil Jane's *Liberty and Despotism in Spanish America*, the general works of Francisco García Calderón, or merely paid closer

attention to pages 93-94 of Oliveira Lima's *Evolution of Brazil compared with that of Spanish and Anglo-Saxon America.* The chapter "Church and State" should be a high point of the text; but it is a disappointing summary which lacks balance. As the chapter stands, it is little better than a catalogue of the already well-known faults and foolishness of some Latin American clerics. A really balanced account might have been secured if the author had taken into consideration all the factors involved in such disputes as those summarized on pages 542, 586, 653, and 672. The historical sketches of the individual countries, at their best, are summaries of masses of facts, but faulty phrasing sometimes clouds the relation of these facts. Perhaps, the greatest failing is the neglect of the intellectual history of the modern period. "International Relations" is well done, but an account of the attempts to develop an American system of international law might be more fitting than the accounts of international wars included under this head. "The United States and Imperialism" is, on the whole, an excellent presentation, though the account on the Panama Canal would be clearer if note had been taken of Bidlack's treaty, article 8 of the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty, and the Hay-Herrán agreement. "The Monroe Doctrine" is incomplete; it fails to note the shifting interpretations of the doctrine by various administrations in the United States (aside from Theodore Roosevelt's "Corollary"), and the efforts of the Latin countries to make the doctrine a matter of mutual application by the American nations as a whole. "Toward the Mid-Century" is an excellent summary of the present position of Latin America.

To sum up, Father Bannon's account of the colonial period realizes the twofold aim of the book: the presentation of all the facts and a better interpretation. Father Dunne's presentation of the facts of the modern period is marred by some omissions and minor errors; his interpretation seems no better than those available in other texts. The strongest point of the entire volume is its presentation of a vast number of facts within a brief compass; but this reviewer regrets that he could not conscientiously recommend the use of the book as a text.

MICHAEL B. MCCLOSKEY

Siena College

The Discovery of New Spain in 1518 by Juan de Grijalva. Translation of the Original Texts with an Introduction and Notes By HENRY R. WAGNER. (Berkeley: Cortes Society. Bancroft Library, University of California. 1942. Pp. vi, 208. $7.50.)

Expectation was high when Hernandez de Córdoba returned to Cuba with the good news. A cultural center superior to anything yet found had been discovered. He had seen the great cities in the distance; he

had traded with the natives; they had gold, manufactured gold trinkets, and ornaments that surpassed those of other tribes in purity and workmanship. Greedy Velázquez lost not a moment in the organization of a second expedition under a trusted leader, Juan de Grijalva.

Permission was obtained from the Hieronymite fathers who had just been sent to Hispaniola by the king to insure a kinder treatment of the aborigines. They were to be attracted to Christianity by love and gentleness. The instructions to Grijalva were clear. Promiscuous trading by unscrupulous soldiers and sailors was not to be permitted, the natives' good will was to be won by kindness and fair dealing in the exchange of merchandise, and no settlement was to be established in the new lands in violation of native sovereignty.

How the fateful expedition set out in January, 1518, and returned in October of the same year, how the reports of Córdoba in regard to the Mayas were not only confirmed but additional information was gained about the far greater and richer empire of the Aztecs, and why Velázquez felt disappointed over the previous expedition is told in the present volume.

The genial bibliographer and historian of San Marino has put together in an elegantly simple translation the eight earliest versions of this significant undertaking. He has done more than that. He has made a careful analysis of the various accounts of the expedition and has attempted to solve the questions that have arisen from the disagreement of the different texts, fitting the parts like those of a jig-saw puzzle. His mature scholarship and complete familiarity with the sources give to the volume the rich flavor of well seasoned fruit. Unlike many, he does not classify his labors as definitive, yet little doubt is left in the reader's mind that there is practically nothing to add to the study of this incident, the forerunner of the conquest of Mexico.

The critical summary of the accounts of the expedition extant today is followed by a simple narrative of the principal events with annotations to clear obscure points. The itinerary of Grijalva, according to Oviedo, a table of distances from Bahia del Espíritu Santo to Tampico taken from the hydrographic office's report of 1939, and a list of the members of the Grijalva expedition with notations to show those who shipped again with Cortés, complete the main text. This is followed by an appendix, which includes the eight different accounts of the expedition in translation, each annotated separately. Among the illustrations are found reproductions of the now well known map of the Garay expedition (1519-1520) and a pertinent section of the Nurenberg map of 1524, showing the extent of exploration of the gulf coast region at that time.

This moderate size volume, artistically printed on excellent paper by the Cortes Society as number two in their new series of documents and narratives concerning the discovery and conquest of Latin America,

is a valuable contribution that is welcomed by all students of this period of American history. The reviewer is a fervent admirer of distinctive, artistic printing and he is not opposed to limited editions for collectors. He cannot but regret, however, that a larger edition of basic studies such as the present on cheaper paper and more modestly bound is not made available. Critical presentation of source materials should be placed within the reach of the average student and given a much wider distribution.

CARLOS E. CASTAÑEDA

University of Texas

Fr. Bartolomé de las Casas, *Del único modo de atraer a todos los pueblos a la verdadera religión.* Asvertencia preliminar y edición y anotación del texto latino por Agustín Millares Carlo. Introducción por Lewis Hanke. Versión española por Atenógenes Santamaría. (Mexico: Fondo de Cultura Económica. 1942. Pp. xliv, 593.)

Years have not dimmed the moral stature of the Apostle of the Indies. The extent of his incessant labors over a period of more than half a century in behalf of justice for the native races of America is equaled only by that of his scholarship. If one wishes to know the full extent of his erudition, he should read the present fragment of *De unico vocationis modo omnium gentium ad veram religionem* (chapters 5, 6, 7) here printed for the first time. This exposition, in marked contrast to the violent denunciation of the destruction of the Indians of an earlier date, presents the mature and dispassionate reasoning of the defender of the Indians. It is true that his arguments in their behalf have been known for years, Remesal, the distinguished historian of Guatemala and Chiapas, having made an excellent summary of this work as early as 1620. He listed at that time four manuscript copies and gave their location. But by 1881 these had been lost. García Icazbalceta, the industrious Mexican bibliographer, searched in vain for them. A few years later, however, Nicolás León discovered the present fragment in Oaxaca where it remained undisturbed until recently. Lewis Hanke, who has given us excellent studies on the social aspects of early Spanish colonization in America, called attention to this unpublished work of Las Casas. The present publication is largely the result of his interest.

The vast influence which Las Casas exercised in determining Spanish policy as regards the humane treatment of the Indians cannot be understood without this remarkable exposition so aptly named "The Only Means of Attracting All Peoples to the True Religion." Here are to be found the detailed analysis of his reasoning, the innumerable citations from Christian writers in support of his deductions, and the forceful

arguments advanced to sustain his inescapable conclusions. The ethical problem presented by the Indian to the Spaniard of the sixteenth century, which gave such deep concern to the crown, cannot be appreciated without a knowledge of this work. This very real problem that bothered both the king and the pope, the missionary and the layman, in Spain and Spanish America is here discussed in all its aspects.

After reading the book one may still doubt the exaggerated numbers of Las Casas in his impassioned *Destruction of the Indians* and find hard to believe the blood-curdling incidents of refined Spanish cruelty so vehemently denounced by him; but one can never question the sincerity of the Apostle of the Indies, nor impugn the high motives that impelled him to dare the fury of nature and the fierceness of human greed for the sake of saving souls through the all-enveloping love of the Redeemer.

The Fondo de Cultura Económica, that has given us so many valuable studies and reprints of basic books in the field of history, economics, and sociology, commissioned the noted Spanish scholar, Agustín Millares Carlo, to revise, annotate, and prepare for publication the original Latin text and a Spanish translation made by Atenógenes Santamaría. The result is the present edition. The Latin and the Spanish texts are printed on opposite pages. These are preceded by a brief note of the editor and a scholarly introduction of Lewis Hanke. The book has two indices, one of place names taken from the Holy Scriptures, and one of topics and proper names. Although only three chapters of the complete work are printed, they make a respectable tome.

For the study of the principles underlying the larger portion of the laws of the Indies and the relations between the Spaniards and the native populations this treatise is indispensable.

CARLOS E. CASTAÑEDA

University of Texas

NOTES AND COMMENTS

In the issue of the REVIEW for January, 1947 (p. 464) we informed our readers of the important collection of documents discovered by Father John Tracy Ellis in two old trunks in an upper room of the chancery office of the Diocese of Richmond. These documents are of special value, as was then indicated, by reason of the fact that they contain the correspondence of Monsignor Denis J. O'Connell during his rectorship of the American College, Rome, from 1885 to 1895. Bishop Ireton of Richmond, realizing the value of the collection, accepted the suggestion of Thomas T. McAvoy, C.S.C., archivist of the University of Notre Dame and one of our advisory editors, that the entire non-current correspondence of the Diocese of Richmond be indexed. It was sent to Notre Dame, where Father McAvoy and his aids prepared a complete index and had all the documents microfilmed. Through the generosity of Bishop Ireton the archives of the Catholic University of America was presented with a microfilm copy of these important papers, and they are now available for research purposes at Washington and at Notre Dame in microfilm form, with the originals kept in the archives of the Diocese of Richmond. The collection, which originally filled twenty large file boxes, has been put on ten recordak film records with an eleventh film record for the index to the entire collection. The documents run in time from the third Bishop of Richmond, John McGill (1850-1872), to near the end of the rule of Richmond's seventh bishop, Denis J. O'Connell, who resigned the see on January 15, 1926. While the documents in question are all of importance to the church historian, naturally the Roman correspondence of Monsignor O'Connell has the greatest value for the general history of the Church in the United States.

The recent decision of the Supreme Court in the Champaign, Illinois, school case has produced many historical interpretations of the first amendment to the Constitution. Most of the attempts to justify the wording of the decision by Justice Black have merely emphasized the fact that many of his points about the separation of church and state in the United States are *obiter dicta,* much like Justice Taney's *obiter dicta* in the Dred Scott case. The discussion in Congress on the first amendment, as contained in the *Annals,* shows that the speakers were so anxious that the amendment would not be used to the disadvantage of religion, that some even opposed the amendment until they could be assured that it would not hinder religion. Disestablishment was certainly intended, but not a "high wall of separation." Neither Jefferson nor Madison had any more right to interpret the amendment or the Constitution than Daniel

Carroll, who insisted that the amendment be so framed as not to offer any hindrance to religion. The wording of the decision offers ample support for the contention of the late Monsignor John A. Ryan in discussing the minimum wage decision that opinions of the Supreme Court in such matters really express the personal philosophies of the justices.

On April 9-13 there was held at the College of Mount Saint Vincent, New York, the second conference of the superiors and representatives of five distinct communities of Sisters of Charity and the two American provinces of the Daughters of Charity, all of which trace their American origins directly or indirectly to Mother Elizabeth Ann Seton. The first conference was held in Emmitsburg in October, 1947, when representatives from Emmitsburg, Halifax, New York, Convent Station, Greensburg, Cincinnati, and St. Louis assembled under the leadership of the Most Reverend John M. McNamara, Auxiliary Bishop of Washington, with a view to devising means to advance the cause of Mother Seton's beatification and canonization. Bishop McNamara, at the invitation of Cardinal Spellman, also presided over the New York meeting, although His Eminence of New York was present to offer Mass, and pledged his assistance in the work. The superiors and delegates of the various sisterhoods promised the prayers and good works of their respective communities for the furthering of the cause, and methods were agreed upon for the holding of weekly devotions in all the houses of the communities with this intention in view. Readers of the REVIEW will be happy to hear that the work of advancing the cause of Mother Seton has been reactivated, and many will wish to join with the sisters of these religious communities in praying for the day when this typical American woman may be raised by the Holy See to the honors of the altar. The communities represented at the Emmitsburg and New York meetings will hold their third conference in St. Louis in the autumn.

The history of Catholic temperance and total abstinence societies in the United States needs to be studied, not only for their participation in the reform movements of the country but also for their contribution to American Catholic culture. It has been suggested that the early temperance societies with their literary and artistic programs and reading libraries had an important part in the Catholic cultural developments of the later nineteenth century.

The general topic of the fifty-second annual meeting of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, held at Philadelphia on April 2-3, was "How to Achieve One World."

In a series of stirring speeches, the two outstanding addresses, judging from the ovations received, were those of Dr. Frank C. James,

Principal of McGill University and James Warburg, noted economist and author. Dr. James declared that "the price of liberty is unceasing work plus constant vigilance." He stated that to attain lasting peace in the world the democracies must adhere to the principles of the Gettysburg Address. Mr. Warburg, who spoke on the topic, "The United States and the World Crisis," acrimoniously stressed the necessity, if war with Russia is to be avoided, of a *volte-face* of the adminstration's policy of backing E.R.P. with military measures. He declared that factors making for the present world crisis are technological revolution, the absence of a balance of power system, and Russian exploitation of an anarchic Europe. He concluded with an admonition to the American people that they must throw their strength behind the U.N. as the basis of a world government, which is the *sine qua non* for world peace. Professor Hans Kohn of Smith College expressed the wish that Stalin's years be many, for, though the Russian leader is ruthless, he is also cautious and will not strike unless certain of success. Dr. Chang Hsin-hai, national director of the Chinese United Nations Association, emphasized in his vigorous talk, "One World: East and West," that world peace will not prevail until international relations are based upon moral law. Our Association was represented at the meeting by James V. Lennon of St. Joseph's College, Philadelphia.

Voume 256 (March, 1948) of the *Annals* of the American Academy of Political and Social Science has a series of articles on organized religion in the United States. Among the contributors, John Courtney Murray writes on "The Roman Catholic Church"; Paul Hanly Furfey, on "The Church and Social Problems"; William W. Sweet, on "The Protestant Churches"; Charles S. Branden, on "The Sects"; Kenneth Scott Latourette, on "The Present Status of Foreign Missions"; Ray H. Abrams, on "The Churches and the Clergy in World War II"; and John Herman Randall, Jr., on "The Churches and the Liberal Tradition".

The December number of *Michigan History* is largely devoted to articles on the Hollanders in Michigan. Professor Henry S. Lucas writes a foreward to four of them.

The forty-first annual meeting of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association was held April 22-24 at Rock Island, Illinois. Among the members of the Amercan Catholic Historical Association who read papers were Aaron I. Abell of the University of Notre Dame on the subject, "The Catholic Church and Urban Problems in World War I Era," and W. Eugene Shiels, S.J., of Xavier University, Cincinnati on "Francisco Vasquez and Mexican Independence." The presidential address of Ralph P. Bieber of Washington University, St. Louis, was entitled "California Gold Mania." Mr. Bieber is also a member of our Association.

W. H. G. Armytage's article, "A . J. Mundella as Vice-President of the Council, and the Schools Question, 1880-1885," in the January issue of the *English Historical Review* has several references to Cardinal Manning's efforts to prevent discrimination against private schools in the granting of government aid.

A definitive bibliography of American autobiographies is being compiled jointly by Daniel C. Haskell of the New York Public Library and Louis Kaplan of the University of Wisconsin Library.

Plans are under way for the preparation of guides to the rich manuscript materials in the Bancroft Library, University of California. A preliminary survey of these materials was recently made by Roscoe Hill, head of the Department of State archives in the National Archives, retired.

Many of our members should be interested in the work of the American Association for State and Local History to preserve the history of our communities, our states, and our institutions on the local level. The annual membership dues are $3.00 per year for individuals; $5.00 for institutions. Members receive *State and Local History News* and are entitled to reduced rates on other publications of the association. Subscriptions may be sent to Earl W. Newton, *Secretary*, American Association for State and Local History, State House, Montpelier, Vermont.

The annual meeting of the Mediaeval Academy of America was held in New York at the Pierpont Morgan Library on April 30 and May 1, with addresses by Professors Pearl Kibre of Hunter College ("The Nations in the Mediaeval Universities"), M. L. W. Laistner of Cornell ("Pagan Schools and Christian Teachers"), W. A. Nitze of the Universities of California (L. A.) and Chicago ("The So-Called Twelfth-Century Renaissance"), and J. W. Spargo of Northwestern University ("Etymology and Early Evolution of *brocard*"). Miss Hope Emily Allen and Professors Kenneth J. Conant (Harvard), Austin P. Evans (Columbia), and B. J. Whiting (Harvard) were elected Fellows of the Mediaeval Academy of America.

The 1949 meeting of the Mediaeval Academy will be held on April 8-9 in Toronto under the auspices of the Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies there. This meeting in Canada will be the Academy's first outside the United States.

The first meetings of the newly organized American Benedictine Academy will be held this summer. The academy will function through its eight sections; there will be no general meetings. History will be dealt with in the social sciences section, of which Gerald Desmonde, O.S.B. of

St. Martin's Abbey, is president, and Gilbert Wolters, O.S.B. of St. Benedict's Abbey, is secretary. A meeting of this section is scheduled for St. Martin's Abbey, Olympia, Washington, for July 26-28. The sacred sciences section will meet at St. Vincent Archabbey, Latrobe, Pennsylvania, from August 30 to September 2. A library science sectional meeting was scheduled at St. Mary's Monastery, Delbarton, New Jersey, June 20-23.

The proceedings of the first consultative meeting of the Commission on History of the Pan American Institute of Geography and History, which took place in Mexico City on October 18-27, 1947, appeared recently under the title *Primera reunión de consulta de la Comisión de Historia del Instituto Panamericano de Geografía e Historia, celebrada bajo los auspicios del gobierno de los Estados Unidos Mexicanos* (México, D. F., 1947). The delegates from the United States included André Simonpietri, Lewis Hanke, Arthur P. Whitaker, Isabel Kelly, Albert William Bork, James Ferguson King, and Frank Tannenbaum.

The Ninth Mexican Congress of History will be divided into three sections, meeting at different times and places. The first section, devoted to the history of the Zacatecas area, will meet in the city of Zacatecas in September, 1948; the second section, devoted to the anthropology and archaeology of the Guerrero area, will meet in the city of Chilapa in December, 1948; and the third section, devoted to the history of the Tlaxcala area, will be held in the city of Tlaxcala in May, 1949. The only plenary session of the congress will take place in December, 1949, at the University of Sonora, Hermosillo.

The Institute of Brazilian Studies, Vanderbilt University, Nashville, Tennessee, announces a special summer session devoted to Brazilian studies and the Portuguese language for June 11 to July 17, 1948. The faculty will include Samuel Guy Inman, Preston E. James, Alexander Marchant, Easton Nelson, T. Lynn Smith, Earl Thomas, Donald Walther, and Emilio Willems, the last from São Paulo. Special lectures will be given by Professors C. R. Boxer, King's College, London, and A. de Carneiro Leão, University of Brazil, Rio de Janeiro.

The Commission for the Study of the Texts of the History of Brazil, an organ of the Brazilian Foreign Office, has issued another bibliographical guide, *Bibliografia de História do Brasil* 1.° *e* 2.° *Semestres de 1946* (Rio de Janiero, 1947). This is a highly useful publication, and appears regularly.

In the latest issue of the *Revista de Historia de América* (México, D. F.), No. 23 (June, 1947), François Chevalier, of the Institut Français d'Amérique Latine, and a promising scholar in the field of Ibero-

American history, is the author of an article "Signification sociale de la fondation de Puebla de los Angles" (pp. 105-130). Earlier (Sevilla, 1946), Mr. Chevalier published an edition of Domingo Lázaro de Arregui's manuscript entitled *Descripción de la Nueva Galicia,* which appeared under the auspices of the Escuela de Estudios Hispano-Americanos of the University of Seville. The preface is by Professor John Van Horne, University of Illinois, formerly American cultural attaché in Spain.

Canon P. Jobit is the director of the new Centre Ibéro-Américain of the Institut Catholique of Paris. The purpose of the organization is to make known among French Catholics the cultural values of the Hispano-Portuguese countries of the New World. Since the Centre has only recently been established, it is still in the process of collecting a library. Gifts to the library should be sent in care of Canon Jobit, Rue d'Assas, Paris.

An international congress of philosophy will be at Barcelona, October 3-10, on the occasion of the fourth centenary since the birth of Suarez and the first since the death of Balmez.

A new quarterly journal, the *French American Review,* made its appearance late in March. The prospectus states: "The object of the *Review* is to provide the general public as well as professional historians with significant data by publishing studies and documents in French and in English." The initial number carries an article in French by Father H. L. Gérard, S.M., entitled "Notre-Dame des Victoires, San Francisco, Californie," and Jules A. Baisné, S.S., will have an article in a forthcoming issue on "The Youth and Education of Gabriel Richard, American Missionary." The editor of the journal is Gilbert Chinard of Princeton University. The associate editor is Joseph M. Carrière of the University of Virginia, who is also a member of the American Catholic Historical Association. The pubisher of the *Review* is the Institut Français de Washington, which has been doing so much fine work in publications on the general subject of Franco-American relations since 1926. The secretary-treasurer of the Institut is Father Baisnée who can be reached at 401 Michigan Avenue, N. E., Washington 17, D. C., by those who might be interested in securing more detailed information. The annual subscription to the *Review* is $4.00, and single copies sell for $1.00. The printing, paper, and general format of the first issue have set a high standard for editorial competence and good taste.

The May issue of the *Library of Congress Quarterly Journal* offers a catalog of important recent additions to the Roesenwald Collection, rare volumes, mostly of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, on a great variety of subjects.

The Metropolitan Museum of Art announces an exhibition of newly purchased mediaeval liturgical objects and items of Gothic furniture at The Cloisters in Fort Tryon Park. The admirable new collection was purchased from the Joseph Brummer estate through the generosity of John D. Rockefeller, Jr. The chalices, reliquaries, flabella, chandeliers, aquamaniles, and furniture are pictured and described in an article in Volume VI, Number 9 (May, 1948) of the *Bulletin* of the Metropolitan Museum of Art by James J. Rorimer, Curator of The Cloisters.

Under the auspices of the Hispanic Society of America, New York, a splendid volume has been issued on the great Spanish painter, Diego de Velázquez.

On Saturday, April 3, under the auspices of the Washington Society of the Archaeological Institute of America, Professor Kenneth J. Conant of Harvard University, gave an illustrated lecture at the Catholic University of America on "The Contribution of the Benedictine Order to Ecclesiastical Architecture."

A series of twelve volumes of English historical documents under the general editorship of David C. Douglas has been planned. The four volumes devoted to mediaeval sources will appear in English translation.

It is expected that the first volumes of translations of mediaeval classics, under the general editorship of Professors Galbraith and Mynors, will appear this year.

Solon J. Buck resigned his position as Archivist of the United States to become Chief of the Division of Manuscripts and holder of the chair of American history in the Library of Congress.

Wayne C. Grover, appointed successor to Dr. Buck at the National Archives by President Truman, had been Assistant Archivist since August 1, 1947.

Robert H. Bahmer, former Chief of the Departmental Records Branch of the Adjutant General's Office of the Department of the Army, has been named Assistant Archivist of the United States.

James A. Llorens, lecturer in history at Columbia University, has accepted a position as assistant professor in European history at the University of Notre Dame beginning in September, 1948.

Thomas Dunlea, instructor in history at Loyola University of Chicago, has accepted an instructorship at the University of Notre Dame beginning in September, 1948.

The Reverend Henry J. Browne has been appointed archivist and instructor in American history in the Catholic University of America.

Henry de Degenfeld Schonburg has been invited to the Catholic University of America as a lecturer in early modern European history for the ensuing year.

Saint Louis University has announced the appointment of Kurt von Schuschnigg to its teaching staff, effective with the opening of the 1949 summer session. He will hold the rank of professor in the department of government. Von Schuschnigg (1897-) received his early schooling with the Jesuit Fathers at Feldkirch in his native Austria. After service in World War I, he took his degree in law at Innsbruck, joined the Catholic Party under Ignaz Seipel (1876-1932), and was appointed minister of justice in the government of Engelbert Dollfuss (1892-1934). When Dollfuss was assassinated on July 25, 1934, Schuschnigg succeeded him, remaining chancellor until the *Anschluss* of March 12, 1938, when Austria was annexed to Hitler's Reich, and its chancellor began a term of political imprisonment that terminated only on May 4, 1945. Schuschnigg has written two books which have been published in translation: *My Austria,* an autobiography (1938); and *Austrian Requiem,* substantially his prison diary (1946).

The long and distinguished teaching career of William Henry Atherton was honored at a testimonial dinner on April 17 in Montreal when his colleagues of the University of Montreal gathered to hear Canon Arthur Sideleau, dean of the Faculty of Letters, declare Dr. Atherton a professor emeritus. Professor Atherton served as professor of English literature in the University of Montreal from 1920 until his retirement this year at the age of eighty. He has been a member of the American Catholic Historical Association for many years and the Association joins with his Canadian friends in wishing him years of happiness in his new-found leisure.

Engel Sluiter, associate professor of Ibero-American history at the University of California, Berkeley, has been awarded a Guggenheim Fellowship and will leave shortly for Europe to gather further materials for his study on the activities of the Dutch in the New World, primarily in Ibero-America.

Manoel Cardozo, associate professor of Ibero-American history in the Catholic University of America, has been elected a corresponding member of the Instituto Histórico e Geográfico de São Paulo, Brazil.

To commemorate the seventieth birthday of Father Raymond J. Martin, O.P., distinguished scholar of the Dominican house of studies at Louvain, a six-hundred-page volume, *Studia Mediaevalia,* will be published at the end of September. More than twenty authors have con-

tributed articles, mostly on mediaeval philosophy and theology, to the mélange. The subscription price of the volume is $9.00. It is unfortunate that the advertisement was not sent out earlier, since July 1 has been set as the final date for subscriptions. Correspondence may be directed to the Dominican House of Studies, 22, Rue Juste Lipse, Louvain, Belgium.

Odo Casel, O. S. B., monk of Maria Laach, died recently. An outstanding liturgical scholar, he published the results of his scholarly research and also wrote on the highest level of popularization. He was the editor of the *Jahrbuch für Liturgiewissenschaft.*

Monsignor Emile Amann died on January 10 at the age of sixty-seven. He was a product of the seminary of Nancy and of the Institut Catholique of Paris. Since 1919 he has been a member of the Catholic theological faculty of Strasbourg, where he taught early church history.

His scholarly work was prodigious. He edited ninety fascicles of the *Dictionaire de théologie catholique,* contributing more than 200 articles of his own. The final article of the *Dictionnaire* was corrected in proof by him the day before he died. In his earlier years he published distinguished volumes on the apocryphal gospels and epistles. Volume VI of the Fliche and Martin *Histoire de l'église* is from his pen and part of Volume VII. Besides other volumes and articles, he contributed frequently to the *Revue des sciences religieuses.*

The Right Reverend Michael Ott, O.S.B., former abbas-nullius of St. Peter's Abbey, Muenster, Saskatchewan, died on February 15. He was born at Neustadt am Main in Bavaria on March 18, 1870. He entered the Benedictines at St. John's Abbey, Collegeville, and completed his theological studies at the Anselmianum in Rome. Over 300 articles, chiefly biographies and the histories of places, were contributed by him to the *Catholic Encyclopedia.*

The Reverend Dr. Beresford James Kidd, warden of Keble College, Oxford, from 1920 to 1939, died on May 16 at the age of eighty-four. Besides several theological works he wrote a three-volume *History of the Church to 461 A. D.* In 1925 he was one of the Anglican group at the Malines Conference, over which Cardinal Mercier presided.

A volume on the work of the late Monsignor Edward J. Flanagan, founder of Boystown, who died in Berlin on May 15, is to be published by Doubleday and Company, Inc., in February, 1949. It is being prepared by Fulton and Will Oursler, who conferred with Monsignor Flanagan right up to the time of his leaving the United States for his mission to Europe. The authors were permitted to bring the pertinent records to New York to complete their research.

Our Lady of the Lake College in San Antonio celebrated its golden jubilee on April 21 with the dedication of two new buildings, a library and a fine arts building.

The Washington celebration of the American centennial of the Brothers of the Christian Schools took place in the National Shrine of the Immaculate Conception on May 6, when the Most Reverend John M. McNamara, Auxiliary Bishop of Washington, was the celebrant of the pontifical high Mass and the sermon was preached by Edward V. Stanford, O.S.A., superior of the Augustinian College. Officers of the Mass were drawn from the various religious orders with houses of study in the University neighborhood. The first Christian Brother to serve in the United States came from France to New Orleans in 1819. But the Louisiana foundation did not prove permanent at that time and it was the advent of two brothers to Calvert Hall in Baltimore in 1845 that marked the opening of the first permanent house of the brothers in this country. Four brothers came from France in 1848 to New York to inaugurate their long and successful history in that city. At present the brothers number 2684 in the United States, with ninety-eight houses divided among five provinces. The editors of the REVIEW take this opportunity to offer to the Christian Brothers their congratulations upon the completion of a century of singularly great service to the cause of Catholic education in the United States.

Documents: Another Memorandum Book of Elias Joneston. Edited by G. P. Cuttino (*English Histor. Rev.,* Jan.).—Cortés's Remains—and a Document. Irving A. Leonard (*Hispanic Amer. Histor. Rev.,* Feb.).—Lettera di S. Lugi Gonzaga alla Marchesa di Castiglione sua madre. Alfonso Strazzulli (*Archivum Historicum Societatis Iesu,* Vol. XV, Fasc. I-II).—The Siege of St. Augustine in 1702, A report to the King of Spain by the governor of East Florida. Translated by Mark F. Boyd (*Florida Histor. Quart.,* Apr.).

BRIEF NOTICES

BERGSTRASSER, ARNOLD (Ed.). *Deutsche Beiträge zur geistigen Ueberlieferung.* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1947. Pp. ix, 252. $4.00.)

The Literary Society of Chicago in conjunction with the Germanistic Division of the University of Chicago is responsible for the publication of this volume. The articles on Luther, Erasmus, Schongauer, and Goethe represent lectures delivered before the society during the winter season of 1945-1946. The volume contains twelve contributions in all, a "Vorwort" by Professor Arnold Bergsträsser, its general editor, and a brief account of the activities of the Literarische Gesellschaft of Chicago.

Professor Simson in his contribution on the liturgy regrets that the Christian liturgy is understood today by so few. The author interprets the sacred liturgy according to Plato's concepts: art should have only one object, or at best two: the praise of the gods and the fame of great men. Christ's passion and resurrection are not only present in every Easter feast, but every Mass is an Easter feast. Liturgy experiences the life of Christ as a mystic reality. The liturgical Christ is the new Adam, man redeemed.

Wilhelm Pauck discusses some aspects of Luther's faith. He stresses two points in Luther's life: his faith and his principles with regard to political problems. In his faith, Luther only depended on God in Christ, Professor Pauck states. In political matters, Luther believed that we must place our hope only in God, not in man. Pauck believes that the reformer was in no way motivated by political calculations but solely by God.

An interesting account is presented by Professor Fritz Caspari on Erasmus. This humanist is depicted as a man of many gifts, even though he can scarcely be called a profound, original thinker. Erasmus' attitude to the Protestant Revolt is interestingly pointed out; a comparison is made between the humanist and Luther. Erasmus' Christian-humanistic outlook was based, as the author maintains, on two postulations: 1) mankind could be educated to the point that it would not follow its impulses, but rather reason; 2) there is no contradiction between the Greco—Roman world and the Christian.

Professor Ulrich Middeldorf takes the reader into the field of art and discusses the classical style of Martin Schongauer, a copperplate-engraver of the fifteenth century. This artist, Middeldorf states, attained the highest classical perfection in copperplate-engraving. An interesting contribution to the Lessing problem is presented by Professor Matthijs Jolles of the University of Chicago. While Gottfried Fittbogen's work, *Die Religion Lessings* (1923) is based mainly on the philosophy of *Nathan der Weise,* Professor Jolles evolves here a picture of Lessing's philosophical outlook as he sees it in the latter's *Fragmente* and among them particularly in his poem *Die Religion.* This article will interest all Lessing students, as it presents a number of new suggestions.

A subject which is on the lips of every thinking man today, peace, is discussed by Arnold Bergsträsser, as seen in Goethe's works. This great German believed that the idea of peace pertains to the individual's legal enjoyment of

liberty, to peace among citizens and to harmony among nations. It symbolizes peace with oneself and peace with God. While war as a demoniacal element is part of human nature, peace is the seal of perfection. Hans Rothfels discusses in his article "Stein und die Neugründung der Selbstverwaltung," Baron vom Stein's opposition to the autocracy of some governments. This student of politics and government feels that the interference of state authorities with private and civic affairs should stop and that the citizen himself take more active part in government. Stein's suggestions were proclaimed at a time when many rulers in Europe had usurped powers which rightfully belonged to the people.

An interesting report of his meeting with the poet, Hofmannsthal, is presented by Herbert Steiner of Pennsylvania State College. A brief review of the Periodical, *Die Kreatur,* is given by Eugen Rosenstock-Huessy of Dartmouth College. This publication existed only for a short time (1926-1930) and was edited by the Reverend Joseph Wittig, a Catholic priest, by Martin Buber, a Jewish Zionist, and the Protestant scientist, Victor Weizsaecker. Students of Ernst Wiechert will find an interesting account in Fritz Karl Richter's observations on that writer's *Hirtennovelle.* An interesting bibliography on Wiechert is added.

The last contribution to this interesting volume is a survey of the research done in Germany, Austria, and Switzerland in the field of classical studies during the war years 1940-1945, by Professor Karl Schefold of the University of Basel. American scholars will welcome the compilation, as the years of World War II made some of those publications inaccessible to many. This volume offers extensive and varied material which scholars in the respective fields will welcome. (Leo A. Behrendt)

Blegen, Theodore C. *Grass Roots History.* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. 1947. Pp. x, 266. $3.00.)

Those advocating cultural histories of communities have found an influential promoter in Dean Theodore C. Blegen. "The pivot of history is not the uncommon, but the usual, and the true makers of history are 'the people, yes.'" These arresting words in his brief foreword sound the keynote to *Grass Roots History.* This is the thesis the author advances in the first two chapters; the succeeding sections concretize his assertion. He deplores the fact that "inverted provincialism," by scorning the simple and steering clear of the near-at-hand, has neglected to emphasize the abundant variety of American culture. By drawing upon letters, diaries, songs, and ballads of his countrymen, the Norwegians, the author constructs from this timber the "American saga" in Minnesota and bares the soul of hardy frontiersmen.

In a fascinating manner, the author points out untapped reservoirs of source material found in "the literature of the unlettered." He proposes the establishment of a central inventory of archives and manuscripts which will open doors that many do not even know exist. Microcopying will make it possible to multiply research centers. The author maintains that all this work should be done under wise professional leadership. As Dean of the Graduate School at the University of Minnesota, Dr. Blegen is in a position to direct research into the avenues indicated. Clear, simple, interesting writing on subjcts close to the

experiences of the people will narrow the gap between the people and the scholar and lead Americans to understand themselves. This is a challenge to scholars and to the people alike. The perusal of the excerpts found in the volume makes one realize how many a "mute inglorious Milton, how many a Cromwell guiltless of his country's blood" are lying in the quiet churchyards. The absence of footnotes detracts somewhat from the usefulness of the book for scholars. (SISTER M. CLAUDIA DURATSCHEK)

BOURKE, VERNON J. *St. Thomas and the Greek Moralists.* (Milwaukee: Marquette University Press. 1947. Pp. 63. $1.50.)

Delivered as an Aquinas lecture at Marquette University in the spring of 1947, Dr. Bourke's study of Aquinas as a moralist is well-documented and interestingly written. He emphasizes "that St. Thomas nearly always taught as a theologian." Hence when he commented on the *Nicomachean Ethics* he was pointing out "what is good and what is faulty in the ethical position of Aristotle." However, "important though it may be, this commentary is not St. Thomas' exposition of his own science of morals." In the works in which he puts out his own ethical theory, Aquinas shows himself to be primarily a moral theologian, writing tersely, always open-minded, sometimes changing his views on a subject, and never claiming to say the last word. His moral science has a firm metaphysical foundation, and it is free of the legalism of later scholastic moral theologians. Among the Greek writers that he knew in one way or another and used are certain pre-Socratic thinkers, Socrates, Plato, Aristotle, Zeno the Stoic, Epicurus, Plotinus, Proclus, and Porphyry.

In the further treatment of his subject Dr. Bourke states St. Thomas' analysis of the moral act and gives its background in the work of St. John Damascene. He concludes with the very necessary observation that while Greek philosophy is one source of thomistic wisdom, it is not the sole or most important source. "St. Thomas used whatever he could find in the works of the Greek moralists, provided it was not opposed to his religious convictions and provided it would help to clarify Christian moral science." This little book is helpful and stimulating. It is worth the study of anyone interested in moral philosophy and theology.

(JOHN K. RYAN)

BRUBACHER, JOHN S. *A History of the Problems of Education.* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co. 1947. Pp. xiii, 688. $4.00.)

Objectivity, clearness of thought, and logical arrangement have distinguished the writing of Professor Brubacher. Those who have had a chance to observe his leadership in such organizations as the Philosophy of Education Society know, too, that he has dedicated himself to the task of bringing some unity into the chaos that afflicts modern educational thinking. Its conflicting theories and consequent bewilderment have been a challenge to him.

The present book is in some respects his answer to that challenge. It is a history, but not one written in the usual way. Instead of presenting a complete picture of each epoch with its conflicts and agreements, a method which would

have emphasized the mental disorder at least in the modern era, he has isolated the outstanding problems and has traced each one from its significant beginnings to the present day. By so doing he has subjected himself and his readers to a limited view of each period, but he has succeeded in impressing the reader with a sense of orderly development. It is significant, too, that of the nineteen chapter titles in the book only four deal specifically with problems of philosophy. No one knows better than the author that the philosophers more than any others are to blame for the confusion in the educational world. He directs his attention, therefore, to the problems of the curriculum, organization, administration, teacher training, and the like, using his ability to express much in a few words to give us a precise but adequate presentation of each.

The Catholic reader will be interested in Chapter XI on "Religious and Moral Education." It begins with a discussion of moral education among the Greeks and ends with a long quotation, quoted with approval, from the encyclical of Pope Pius XI *On the Christian Education of Youth*. Throughout the book, and especially in this chapter, the author has shown a sympathetic understanding of Catholic educational theory and practice. One might quarrel with his statement that it was the Catholic and Protestant tradition that "original nature was desperately wicked," (p. 331), and also with his apparent failure to understand that the claim of Pope Leo XIII that the Church was the "guardian of liberty in teaching" was not inconsistent with the condemnation of liberalism by Pius IX (p. 632). These, however, are minor defects in a truly scholarly work.

(MICHAEL J. MCKEOUGH)

BRYDON, GEORGE MACLAREN. Historiographer of the Diocese of Virginia. *Virginia's Mother Church and the Political Conditions under Which It Grew.* (Richmond: Virginia Historical Society. 1947. Pp. xxii, 571. $7.50.)

The present volume, the first of three projected by the author, the historiographer of the Protestant Episcopal Diocese of Virginia, is designed to carry the story of Virginia Anglicanism down to the year 1727. The value of the book lies in the fact that it has incorporated in the text and collected in an appendix much valuable primary material. For the rest, the volume is largely a disorderly hodge-podge of dithyrambs and diatribes, applauding those of whom the author approves (e.g., Sir Edwin Sandys), and condemning those whom he dislikes (e.g., the Stuarts). For that reason, no orderly summary of the book's contents can be given.

Even the bibliography, notable for the absence of many recent secondary works, is a disorderly jumble. Nor can one but wonder how thoroughly the author has investigated the primary sources he lists. For example, Beverly's *History and Present State of Virginia* is given, though under an abbreviated title. That volume explicitly contradicts a major contention of Dr. Brydon—that no Anglican bishop had jurisdiction in Virginia (pp. 9, 87, 99 *et passim*). The author seems unaware of this statement of Beverly, who is cited only in another connection and through the medium of a secondary work. But even if the author had read Beverly, his contention probably would not have been

modified; for he cites other sources (pp. 229, 280) which cannot be squared with his opinion.

Considering the author's strange use of historical sources, one is scarcely surprised at his unique view of history. The colonial Virginians were invariably good Jeffersonian Democrats, wholeheartedly devoted to the principle of religious freedom. Bacon's rebellion was due to the Virginians' "unbearable resentment against the conduct of their king" (p. 145). William and Mary were the first constitutional monarchs of England (p. 209). That phrase "as of the king's manor of East Greenwich" is mysterious to most historians. But not to the author; it means "simply" that Virginia was "part of the manor of East Greenwich"(p. 159). The effect of the vestries on Anglicanism in Virginia is rather debatable ground; there is a deep suspicion that the bad reputation of the Virginian parsons may be laid squarely on the door-step of the vestry. But the author discusses the vestries only to sound their praises (pp. 90-102 *et passim*).

It is to be hoped that the author's next volume will not be cut to the pattern of this book (FRANCIS X. CURRAN)

BUNKLEY, ALLISON W. (Ed.) *A Sarmiento Anthology.* Translated from the Spanish by Stuart Edgar Grummon. (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1948. Pp. 336. $5.00.)

Amidst the galaxy of geniuses which Latin America has produced since her independence the name of Domingo Faustino Sarmiento shines with an especial luster. This Argentine of the far western colonial province of Cuyo at the foot of the Andes, was born in the little town of San Juan (destroyed by earthquake in 1943) in 1811, the year after the provinces of La Plata severed connections with Spain and began their agonizing struggle for union into the Nation which became Argentina. With excellent background (a wise mother and high place churchmen who were close relatives) his genius was well cultivated from its earliest years. He witnessed the early convulsions of his own country, saw the rise of dictator Juan Manuel de Rosas, and suffered exile because he would not bend his neck to the yoke of political tyranny. It was a blessing in disguise. Henceforth, like that broad man Pedro II of Brazil, Sarmiento lived and travelled in other countries, beginning as a school teacher in Chile. Europe's culture mellowed his genius; the expansive practicality of the United States gave it direction. With the defeat of tyrant Rosas (1852) he could return to his native land; he became its president (1868-1874), he organized its excellent school system after things he had seen in North America, and he wrote the essays, novels, and reflections which are presented to the reader in the volume under review.

This book is a welcome product from Princeton's press. Latin American poets and men of letters, scholars, statesmen, and historians have been all too little known in North America. The Sarmiento anthology will aid in dispelling this ignorance. The American classic, the novel *Facundo,* enjoys here important space and the translation is fresher and more sprightly than the earlier one done by Mrs. Horace Mann in 1865. Selections which complete this volume are entitled "Provincial Recollections," "On Journalism," "Travels in the

United States in 1847," "The United States in the Sixties," "On Education," and "Political Thought". This intellectual bouquet breathes the intellectual fragrance of the man Sarmiento, a fragrance which stimulates as well as it pleases. The introductory sketch of Sarmiento's career is good and the notes are scholarly. This volume does a service to inter-Americanism, especially because this Argentine is one of too few Latin Americans who has had the intelligence and the sympathetic understanding to comprehend the generous and friendly, if too energetic genius, of the people of the United States. (PETER MASTEN DUNNE)

CLINARD, OUTTEN JONES. *Japans's Influence on American Naval Power, 1887-1917.* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1947. Pp. iv, 235. $3.75.)

This volume is one of the University of California publications in history; one which reflects credit on the editors as well as the author. It is an interesting, well-documented, informative work with a good index. It presents the facts in a logical manner, grouping them around the important occurrences of the period. The author was wise in his choice of a title, in that he used the word "power" where others might have written "policy." He justly gives credit to the General Board of the Navy for having had a naval policy throughout the period he discusses, but he points out in the preface that there was no national naval policy.

Beginning with the so-called "manifest destiny" talk which was one of the factors in the American expansion of 1898, resulting in the raising of the Stars and Stripes in Hawaii, Guam, and the Philippines, the author traces the effect on Japan of various occurrences and controversies and the counter-effects on American ideas as well as on American naval power. He reviews the matter of Japanese immigration to Hawaii as well as to California, and he examines the repercussions of this issue. He reports the circumstances and effects of the Open Door Policy and the Anglo-Japanese Alliance, as well as the Russo-Japanese War and the questions arising out of Korea and Manchuria.

Many readers are likely to be especially interested in this presentation of the facts about Anglo-Japanese relations in the Far East from August, 1914, onward. The author does not wander from his own subject, and offers no random observations, but the reader is inclined to question the "wisdom" which prompted the British Foreign Office to propose the alliance with Japan. Possibly the statesmen sponsors of the alliance were no more far-sighted than the diplomats who planned the Naval Conference of 1922.

Some readers may be surprised to find that the author attributes the naval building program of 1916 to the thought of Japan, rather than to the war then in progress in Europe. This reviewer believes that the author is entirely correct, and that informed naval opinion is in agreement with him in thus concluding that President Wilson and the Congress were influenced by Japan's attitude and apparent intentions. As far as this reviewer knows, the late Rear Admiral Andrew T. Long died without having recorded on paper the special knowledge which he had on this subject.

The book will appeal to students of sea power and of naval policy, as well as

others interested in the Far East. The author has mastered his subject and understands the meaning of sea power. He is now writing history for the Army Engineers. (JOHN B. HEFFERNAN)

DICK, EVERETT. *The Dixie Frontier. A Social History of the Southern Frontier from the First Transmontane Beginnings to the Civil War.* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1948. Pp. xix, 374, xxv. $4.50.)

As research professor of American history at Union College (Lincoln, Nebraska), Everett Dick has specialized in frontier life. To his previous works on *The Sod-House Frontier* and *Vanguards of the Frontier,* Professor Dick now adds *The Dixie Frontier* as a social history covering ante-bellum Dixie as a frontier cultural area. The book's thirty-two chapters are like so many pieces of colorful frontier mosaic. Individually they show us who the pioneers were; how and why they went westward; what they ate and wore; how they worked, frolicked, fought, and worshipped; and finally how they treated the Negroes and Indians. Conglomerately, these bits of mosaic form a many-sided, multicolored picture of pioneer life—domestic, civic, and social—in western Dixie.

In his preface the author explains that "no attempt has been made to follow the course of political history. The aim is to give a picture of daily life" (p. xi). With a multitude of anecdotes and with detailed descriptions, a very intimate atmosphere is achieved. But it is far too superficial a book to be a serious social history. Professor Dick in this work is neither apologist nor analyst. He is a reporter. *The Dixie Frontier* may be an attractive presentation of everyday life and a chatty description of frontier society, but it is no social analysis. Lacking, as it does, social interpretation or analysis, the volume can be classified as social history only in a very broad sense. The author's plain style and the thoroughly explanatory tone of the volume are saved from monotony by a generous dash of vivid and attractive anecdotes.

In his general treatment of frontier religion Mr. Dick understandably accentuates the role of Methodists, Baptists, Presbyterians, and of revivalism. But then he arbitrarily tosses off Catholicism's contribution to frontier life with one enormous sentence: "In 1787 there were about fifty families in Pottinger's Creek settlement when Father M. Whelan was sent as the first missionary priest into Kentucky" (p. 182). But Father Paul de St. Pierre in 1785 was the first missionary priest to visit the Pottinger's Creek colony; Father *Charles* Whelan was resident priest there from 1787 until 1790; and Father William de Rohan in 1787 built at Pottinger's Creek the first Catholic chapel in Kentucky. Names like Badin, Flaget, Fenwick, Rosati, Bruté, and Kenrick may sound strange to Professor Dick, but their bearers were no strangers to the Dixie frontier.

Several typographical errors in the book were noticeable. "In renowned" (p. 206) should be "is renowned;" and "in 1882" (p. 257) should be "in 1822." Both "Tennesseeans" (pp. 258, 292) and "perfidious" (p. 321) are misspelled. Besides being misspelled once (p. 152), the town of Granada in Mississippi is, on page 151, the object of some confusion because it terminates a sentence. The next sentence happens to begin with the word "Alabama" so, by confusing the period for a comma, the indexer connected the adjoining words and came up

with the new town of "Granada, *Alabama*" which is dutifully listed in the index, too. The bibliography is very extensive (pp. 341-374), but it is top-heavy in comparison to the moderate use of footnote references.

If one is looking for a scientific social history of the southern frontier, he will be disappointed in this book. But if he is interested in a popularly-written, general, surface-skimming but attractive treatment of southern pioneer life, he will enjoy *The Dixie Frontier*. (ANDREW H. SKEABECK)

GILSON, ETIENNE. *History of Philosophy and Philosophical Education*. (Milwaukee: Marquette University Press. 1948. Pp. 49. $1.50.)

In this Aquinas lecture Professor Gilson writes with his customary clearness and persuasion. Because of this fact, a few quotations will be of more value than a synopsis of his thought. On textbooks he writes: "Of all those who have learned philosophy only in schools or from books written only for schools I am sorry to say that they have not the slightest idea of what the philosophical life really is . . . what we must teach them as philosophy is not yet philosophy, but a way to it, and that the only true masters in philosophy there are, are the great philosophers." The necessity for the study of the history of philosophy is clear: "Philosophy has no existence of its own outside philosophers. . . . By a curious illusion, we like to imagine that there is somewhere in this world a philosophy subsisting in itself and for itself." Philosophy is not a being, but "philosophy pure and simple is a pure and simple essence." Recalling that for Aquinas, Aristotle was "the philosopher," he concludes: "Yet so little did his apprenticeship hamper the personal genius of the disciple, that were we asked today: Who is *the* Philosopher? we would unhesitatingly answer: Thomas Aquinas."

Marquette University is to be congratulated on maintaining high standards during the course of the Aquinas lectureship. The lectures are well printed, although the title pages are not well composed and the binding is unattractive. (JOHN K. RYAN)

HANUS, FRANCISCUS. *Die ältere Geschichte der Zisterzienser—Abtei Leubus in Schlesien bis zur Mitte des 14. Johrhunderts. Texts, Documents and Studies in Medieval and Modern Church History No. 2.* (Teutopolis, Illinois: Breslau University Press. 1947. Pp. xii, 205. $4.00.)

Two doctoral dissertations have come from the pen of Father Hanus, one presented to the School of Theology of the Catholic University of America (1944) and the one under consideration, which was presented to the Catholic theological faculty of the University of Breslau. Issued subject to the regulations of the Catholic University of America, the former did not carry the series designation, but is advertised as its first volume in the present work. This series Father Hanus says he started because the Catholic institutions of higher learning in North America had as yet not undertaken any in these fields. By what authority, however, he credits his series to the "Breslau University Press, Germany," is not clear. That venerable and highly reputable institution is, of course, helpless—if it still exists—behind the "iron curtain." A third monograph, also by Father Hanus and with the same accreditation, is announced.

We shall pass by the somewhat unusual title page on which the author makes sure that his readers know all about his past career and the dedicatory page on which he more than graciously inscribes his work to three ecclesiastics, and also the six pages at the end of the book that are devoted to the reprinting of the laudatory reviews his American dissertation had received. Sandwiched between are the little more than 100 pages of the monograph, about ninety of appendices, a bibliography, and an index. Of the monograph the first part deals with the establishment of the order and its early doings in Silesia, the second with the general and external history of Leubus, the third with its organization and internal history, the fourth with its economic history, and the fifth with the sources of its history. On the whole the text of the dissertation shows little evidence that the sources have been thoroughly dug into and around. Although Father Hanus asserts—and we cannot entirely agree with him—that the history of the institution is nothing more than the history of its abbots (p. 53), the seventeen abbots of the period covered are disposed of in eighteen pages. Especially evident is the meagerness of the study in the fourth part (pp. 105-113). Again the author states—and here we can thoroughly agree with him—that the Cistercians of Leubus "auf wirtschaftlichem Gebiete Grosses geleistet haben," but we cannot see eye to eye with him in stating that the history of the economic activities of Leubus lie outside the scope of his dissertation (p. 109). Leubus and nearly every other Cistercian foundation were factors far too important in the regions in which they were established for those regions not to affect profoundly the course of the history of the foundations. In the bibliography we shall note only that Helmold is cited in an edition published in 1702. Lappenberg and Schmeidler have re-edited his chronicle since then in the *Monumenta*. Beyond telling about the founding of the Cistercian Order, we do not recall his having been interested in its Silesian house. The footnotes abound in pageless *ibidems*. The Worman Printery in Teutopolis deserved more guidance in putting out a scholarly work and more careful proof-reading. (FRANCIS J. TSCHAN)

HOLBROOK, STEWART H. *The Story of American Railroads.* (New York: Crown Publishers. 1947. Pp. x, 468. $4.50.)

If in recent years there has been overproduction in books on railroading and railroad history, Stewart Holbrook, sometimes called "the country's outstanding informal historian," need not fear the workings of the law of supply and demand in the case of his latest work. Between the first page, on which the panting of a standing locomotive is represented as *pam-pah, pam-pah,* and the railroad almanac at the end, there are thirty-nine chapters literally crammed with railroad statistics, economics, philosophy, romance, and downright good history. The author assumed a heavy burden when he undertook to tell the story of American railroads in a single volume; he has carried it well.

What should make this work welcome to railroad enthusiasts is not the fact that the author has recounted familiar phases of American railroad history well, but that he has unearthed hitherto hidden gems. The story of the building of the Erie Road is here, but it is well-known; not so the work of John Poor

in planning the Atlantic & St. Lawrence Railroad. The handling of this saga in the chapter "Forgotten Genius" is masterly. The same is true of many other chapters: "Jim Hill's Empire," "Up in the Cold and Icy," "The Airbrake Fanatic," "The Story of the Sleeping Car," "Times and the Railroads," "News Butchers," and "The Biography of a Flagstop."

The style of writing is above all flexible. Facts, thousands of them, are fiitted in smoothly; the "greats" of railroad history are portrayed in pungent paragraphs; anecdotes are told in homely, even ribald prose. A hundred illustrations, well selected and reproduced, add to the reader enjoyment and the footnotes and bibliography are adequate. The index, however, is a distinct disappointment. A mere catalogue of names is unworthy of a work which is otherwise so satisfactory. It should be improved. (ALLAN J. DOHERTY)

JURGELA, CONSTANTINE R. *History of the Lithuanian Nation.* (New York: Lithuanian Cultural Institute, Historical Research Section. 1948. Pp. 544.)

This book is recommended to all who wish to obtain some knowledge of a people which was the last in Europe to be converted to Christianity, which contributed so much to the royal and princely families of Europe (e.g., Radziwill, Sapieha, the daughter of King Casimir, who became the wife of a Hohenzollern, etc.), and which fought so staunchly for its national and religious independence in spite of what seemed to be insurmountable obstacles put in its way by Prussia, Poland, and Muscovy.

The author does not attempt to give a completely detailed account of the history of this small people, which, nevertheless, at one time controlled the territory from the Baltic to the Black Sea. He stresses the era of Vytautas and the Lithuanian resistance to Muscovite persecution in the nineteenth century, particularly on the part of the *Zemaičiai.* This latter section proved quite stirring to the reviewer, a grandson of a book-smuggler, although he thinks that this part might have been written with better effect by less reliance on Age Meyer Benedictsen and more on the recollections of those who are actually involved or whose recollections may have been transmitted by word of mouth or by writing.

The author shows enviable objectivity in presenting Lithuania's history, even though the subject-matter lends itself rather easily to understandable indignation regarding traitorous *Bajorai* (nobles) and attempts at polonisation on the part of the Polish clergy. I might add here that the book contains many plates which are, unfortunately, not indexed. One, a *bajoras* with Turkish headgear, slightly curved moustache, long skirt, sash, Turkish-type shoes, inevitable sword, and apparently a touch of the influence (p. 311), depicts a typical nobleman, of which Lithuania happily rid herself after World War I—only to be subjected to the Muscovite oppression of the present day.

In criticism, one might point to unusual words, e.g., "turpid" (p. 198), conscient (p. 487), etc., a certain amount of repetitiousness, stress on the Atlantic Charter (which all should know never existed), and some misprints (e.g., pp. 19, 260, 332, 412). More serious is the lack of an index. It is unfor-

tunate that a book of this quality should not be provided with an index that would enable the reader to obtain information quickly about Lithuania.

The author has used works on Lithuania written in many languages—Lithuanian, German, French, Polish, Russian, and Latin. The reviewer regrets to note that the author's acquaintance with Latin leaves considerable to be desired (pp. 50, 51-52, 53, 96). All in all, however, the volume is an interesting and useful introduction to the little-known Lithuanian nation. (JOHN P. WEISENGOFF)

LEBRETON, JULES, S.J., AND JACQUES ZEILLER. *The History of the Primitive Church.* Volume IV. Translated by Ernest C. Messenger. (London: Burnes Oates & Washbourne. 1947. Pp. 761-1152. 25s.)

The present volume brings to an end the history of the primitive Church written by Lebreton and Zeiller and translated by Dr. Messenger. The latter decided for technical reasons to publish his work in four books of a reasonable size rather than in the two bulky ones of the French original. The pagination is continuous throughout the English edition.

The period embraced is from the middle of the third century to the Peace of Constantine in 313. Lebreton devotes the first sixty-four pages to a study of Origen as a catechist, preacher, exegete, and apologist. But in spite of his adequate treatment his own opinion of this controversial figure is not entirely clear. He then describes the apocryphal literature and the Manichean sect in the light of newly-discovered documents. In the next two chapter the author centers his attention on Alexandria and Antioch, and generally links up events with some important figure associated with these churches, e.g., Dionysius, Gregor, Thaumaturgus, Paul of Samosata, and Lucian of Antioch. The religious tendencies of the period are now discussed and their effect upon theology and piety. Père Lebreton's contribution ends with an account of Christian literature during the reign of Diocletian.

Jacques Zeiller begins the second half of the book with a description of the changes brought about in the ecclesiastical organization as a result of the increase in members and the rise of dangerous and widespread heresies and schisms. His next chapter cites many instances of the pre-eminent authority of the See of Rome, particularly in the settling of doctrinal disputes. The intricate question of how the Church, though officially condemned by the government, could still hold property legally, receives careful consideration. The chapter on Christian life brings out well the difficulties that the members of the Church faced in maintaining a high moral standard in the midst of a corrupt pagan society. We have naturally a full account of the last and most bitter of the persecutions, and in the closing chapter Zeiller draws a geographical picture of the Church as a new era in her history is about to begin, and explains the natural and supernatural reasons for her triumph over the mightiest empire in antiquity.

Fliche and Martin were certainly fortunate in securing the services of such outstanding scholars for the opening volumes of their monumental History of the Church. The authors, however, should have devoted more attention to the

secular events of the period—political, economic, and social—that would have made it easier for the reader to understand the reason for the sudden and often contradictory policy of the government towards the Church. This history is certainly not a "popularization," but its wealth of details and its up-to-date bibliography make it a veritable gold-mine for students of historical research and positive theology. The translation on the whole is exceptionally well done. Father Messenger has also corrected one of the drawbacks to the usefulness of the French edition by adding a very complete index for the whole series. (STEPHEN MCKENNA)

MONAGHAN, FRANK. (Ed.) *The Heritage of Freedom: the History and Significance of the Basic Documents of American Liberty.* (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1947. Pp. 150. $3.50.)

As a companion piece to the documents which were gathered for the Freedom Train, the directors of the American Heritage Foundation commissioned Frank Monaghan to write a short account of the origins and history of the documents selected. The resultant volume is a pleasing combination of documents and text, with many photostat copies of the originals. Beginning with the letter of Christopher Columbus describing his voyage to the new world, and concluding with several numbers on the various bond issues of the United States, the volume contains most of the great documents of American history. Here one finds the Magna Carta, the Mayflower Compact, the Declaration of Independence, the Bill of Rights adopted by the first Congress, the Emancipation Proclamation, President Wilson's draft of the Covenant of the League of Nations, and the documents recording the surrenders of Germany and Japan at the end of World War II. These are interlarded with extracts from such disparate works as Tom Paine's, *The American Crisis,* Roger Williams', *The Bloody Tenent,* Lincoln's Gettysburg Address, and the famous one word reply of the commmander of the encircled 82nd Air Borne Division, General McAuliffe, to the German commander. Freedom is the theme of all the documents, freedom of conscience, freedom of the press, political freedom, social freedom, in short, freedom from oppression of any kind.

Since the responsibility for the selection is a divided one, Mr. Monaghan cannot be charged with the omission of any particular documents. Yet this reviewer would like to have seen included the Toleration Act of Maryland of 1649. Moreover, in treating of the origins of the Declaration of Independence one would have appreciated a brief nod given to the scholastic tradition and the work of Bellarmine. Despite these omissions, the volume is an achievement of which the author and the editors may well be proud. It is a grand record of the attempt of man to escape the tyranny of man, all through the ages. There are a good index and a list of readings for further study. Would that one of the sentiments expressed in a letter of George Washington to the Hebrew congregation at Newport, on August 18, 1790, were more stressed in discussions of our heritage:

It is now no more that toleration is spoken of, as if it was by the indulgence of one class of people, that another enjoyed the exercise of their inherent natural rights. For happily the Government of the United States, which gives to bigotry no sanction, to persecution no assistance, requires only that they who live under its protection, should demean themselves as good citizens, in giving it on all occasions their effective support.

(EDWARD J. DUNNE)

MURCHIE, GUY. *Saint Croix: The Sentinel River.* (New York: Duell, Sloan and Pierce. 1947. Pp. xx, 281. $3.50.)

The history of the Saint Croix River, now the eastern boundary of the United States, is good evidence that man is the real maker of history. Geography, climate, economic conditions, and the frontier are important forces—important conditioning forces. But man is the controlling factor. In 1604 Champlain selected the Passamaquoddy Bay and the Saint Croix as the capital of New France. Immediately thereafter, and for the next two centuries, this area became the center of conflicts: French claimants wrangled over it; France and England fought for it; the English and the Dutch measured swords over it; the Indians and the Puritans, then the Puritans and the Nova Scotians, and finally Maine and New Brunswick exchanged shots and warm words to control it. Not until the American loyalists settled on its banks did a real community take root and enjoy the advantages of its waterways and timber land. Today the river is a symbol of international good feeling, with the communities on both sides of the line sharing their public services.

This is the first chronicle of the river's history to appear. The author, a resident of St. Andrews, the first settlement of the loyalists on the Saint Croix, has used available printed sources, the researches of local historians, and secondary books to write a volume for the general reader which should arouse interest in this neglected river of America. Most of the chapters are devoted to the colonial period. Life on the river after the Treaty of Ghent has been neglected; the exploits of the Fenians share a chapter of eight pages with the hurricane of 1869, and Franklin D. Roosevelt shares a brief chapter with two other notables of Campobello. Even the chapters on events of the colonial period are far too sketchy. There are a number of illustrations in the front of the book and thirteen maps to help the reader.

On a few occasions the author has allowed his sympathy for the loyalists to undermine his judgment. He compares, e.g., their treatment at the hands of the Americans with the methods of the nazis (p. 185). The comparison is poor taste and bad judgment. Again, the author would like to think that the loyalists counted among their founding fathers a signer of the Declaration of Independence in the person of Matthew Thornton (pp. 232-235). The Matthew Thornton who signed the Declaration died at Newburyport in 1803, and hence it is somewhat difficult to believe he died again at St. Andrews in 1824. The volume is a good introduction to the Saint Croix. However, much has been omitted and the full significance of events connected with the river slighted. A complete, definitive history is needed. (WILLIAM L. LUCEY)

NILES, BLAIR. *Journeys In Time. From the Halls of Montezuma to Patagonia's Plains.* (New York: Coward-McCann, Inc. 1947. Pp. xi, 404. $4.00.)

It was while Blair Niles was engaged in a work on the Maximilian period of Mexico that she conceived the idea of *Journeys in Time* in which she would bring together a "sheaf of feelings gathered from personal experience and the reading of four centuries of writers on Latin America." The coterie of writers who collaborate with her in the symposium are diversified; there are poets, psychologists, historians, playwrights, novelists, and philosophers who contribute bits of adventure, philosophy, and gossip that give an intimate picture of the people to the south of us from Mexico to the plains of Patagonia and from the halls of Montezuma to World War II.

Mrs. Niles toyed with the idea for another five years. In the meantime she organized expeditions to Ecuador, Columbia, Haitii, the French and Dutch Guianas, and she accompanied other expeditions into Mexico, Venezuela, and British Columbia. In these expeditions she studied the manners and the customs of the simple folk in order that she might give their reactions to the problems of every day life. In fact, she tells us the work comes as near being her own biography as anything she could ever write, for she stressed those characteristics in authors and among people to which she had reacted.

Mrs. Niles has written 50,000 words of original material which is crowned by her essay on Stefan Zweig, the man. Here her use of the historical present gives vividness which adds charm to the biography, and here and there in her climaxes she has a ciceronian flare. Unfortunately, the author has reached conclusions in a few places which neither Catholic theory nor practice warrant. It is the one blemish on a highly informative and brilliantly told tale. (SISTER AGNES BERNARD CAVANAGH)

PECKHAM, HOWARD H. *Pontiac and the Indian Uprising.* (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1947. Pp. xviii, 346. $4.50.)

Ninety-six years have passed since Francis Parkman published the classic *History of the Conspiracy of Pontiac.* In the subsequent time writers on this subject have taken his work as their chief source. The author of the present book has no intention of "rewriting Parkman:" rather, he has set himself to the far more difficult task of writing the biography of the leading Indian character in this critical episode of the 1760's.

To present-day Americans, Pontiac is just one of the long lines of Indian chieftains who lived in the shadowy past. From this oblivion the author brings forth the Ottawa chief, vibrant with life, masterful in leadership. Indeed, an incentive to writing this biography was "the challenge of the man" who dared to oppose the westward progress of the British and bring "the whole European imperialistic broil to a stop."

With scholarly exactitude and in an inviting style Mr. Peckman has succeeded, despite the more than ordinary difficulties which a biographer of Pontiac would have to face— paucity of personal records, biased accounts of enemies, legends innumerable—in portraying and interpreting with keen understanding this

champion of the Indian's rights to their own way of life, to their own lands, to their sovereignty as nations. *Pontiac and the Indian Uprising* is a valuable contribution to the record of the long and unequal conflict between the red man and the European over the vast stretches beyond the Appalachians.

The biographer of Pontiac was well fitted by training and circumstance to do his work. As curator of manuscripts in the Clements Library of the University of Michigan for almost a decade he had care of the Gage Papers which include, among other invaluable records for the period, the correspondence of Major Henry Gladwin, commander at Detroit during the siege of 1763, who finally forced Pontiac to yield. In addition, the author has had access to all of Parkman's written sources, to later findings, and to the excellent work of scholars of Great Lakes history.

The Princeton University Press has produced a book worthy of this scholarly and interesting biography. (SISTER M. ROSALITA KELLY)

PRADO, J., C.SS.R. *Praelectionum biblicarum compendium*, II, *Vetus Testamentum*, liber primus, *De sacra Veteris Testamenti historia*.[5] (Madrid: Edit. El Perpetuo Socorro, Manuel Silvela. 1947. Pp. xxxii, 655. 50,000 pesetas.)

The changes introduced into this new, revised edition are indicated by the author in the preface. They affect the treatment of Genesis, Daniel, Judith, Tobias, and Esther; the author has added an explanation of the promises made to Abraham, of the institution of the passover, of the decalogue, of the eternal kingship promised to David, of the Messianic kingdom in Jeremias, of the "Son of Man" and of the resurrection of the dead in Daniel; the reader is also provided with the Hebrew text for many passages, e.g., Gen. 1:1-2; 3:15; Is. 7:12-16; Dan. 9:23-27; etc.; the form of the presentation of the prophecy of Jacob, of the Oracles of Balaam, and of the predictions regarding Ebed Yahweh has been revised. We should also mention that the format has in many places been improved to make certain points stand out.

Although the reviewer gives substantial endorsement of Father Prado's new edition, he would like to point out what to him seem to be defects. He sees no advantage in the separation of the biblical index from the topical and author indices. Why not return it to the end of the book, where it was before? The bibliography does not show entire familiarity with the work of American scholars on the Near East. This, of course, may be due to the difficulties induced by the recent war, and will doubtlessly be remedied as soon as it is practicable. The treatment of biblical pre-history remains for the most part unmodified. In the light of present-day knowledge it seems to the reviewer that the author gives many theories more prominence than they deserve. Most of them could be relegated to small print, with historical interest as the sole reason for their insertion into the text.

In a book that covers so large a field it should not be surprising that the author's point of view and emphasis do not always correspond with those of others. Thus, to the reviewer, the author might have brought out more clearly that Josue and Judges present the same objective reality but from two different points of view. In Gen. 3:15 he gets more out of the text than the text actually

contains. The extra comes from later revelation, and it is at least questionable whether so much was intended by the author of the verse. In connection with Deutero-Isaias the author does not make sufficiently clear that the response of the Pontifical Biblical Commission implicitly admits as probable that another than Isaias of the eighth century B.C., was the author of Is. 40-66. These points of difference are given only as samples. More could be adduced, but disagreement on these and other biblical questions is not to be interpreted as a condemnation of the work. Simón-Prado's *Compendium* should be and is whole-heartedly recommended as one of the better biblical textbooks. (JOHN P. WEISENGOFF)

REDPATH, HELEN, M.D. *God's Ambassadress: St. Bridget of Sweden.* (Milwaukee: Bruce Publishing Co. 1947. Pp. xv, 216. $3.00.)

God's Ambassadress is a combination of history, biography, asceticism, and mysticism. St. Bridget made history, not only in her native Sweden by her energetic action in the royal court, but throughout Christendom by her influence on several of the popes. Her exterior life was the natural, or rather, supernatural, expression of what she was interiorly; the outward manifestation of that inward flame of divine love which drove her to conquer for God, first herself, and then the world.

Bridget lived in stirring times. The perennial conflict between God and the world had reached a peak of intensity which our own times parallel. The pope was in captivity at Avignon, surrounded by enemies thinly disguised as friends. Worldliness, and worse, had seized upon those highest in both Church and State. Into all this, at the divine command, plunged Bridget, shrinking but heroic, God's instrument in the working out of the divine plan. Her foundation of an order of contemplatives may seem to many readers of secondary importance. To Bridget it represented the very fount and inspiration of all the rest. To her, the first and greatest commandment was really first. Her order was to be a power-house supplying to the Church the energy necessary for effective action. The many difficulties in the way of its foundation caused her the deepest suffering; her final triumph came only in heaven.

The notes are scholarly and of a high order. They will be of value to the historian of the fourteenth century and this is particularly true of the bibliographical appendix. (KATHLEEN MURPHY)

ROWSE, A. L. Fellow of All Souls College, Oxford. *The Use of History.* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, Ltd. 1946. Pp. xi, 247. $1.00.)

This is a disconcerting book. The reader whose interest may be caught by its title will soon discover that Mr. Rowse has no intention of limiting himself to such a narrow field as the title suggests. Instead, the inquiring reader will find himself treated to disquisitions on such subjects as theology, metaphysics, ethics, psychology, and ethnology. Professor Rowse has shown no disinclination to enter these fields. His preface declares that an historian cannot write his thoughts about his subject without making some general reflections and going into some abstract questions. That is not to be denied. Yet it is scarcely to be

expected that the historian will pontificate in such fields as theology and metaphysics. But this is precisely what Mr. Rowse does with astounding assurance. The result is such as largely to destroy the usefulness of his book.

To undertand this work it is essential to realize that the author is a materialist and a positivist. Having summarily rejected the supernatural order, he concludes that the most important possible subject of study is that of man in society. History, for Mr. Rowse, takes the place of theology and metaphysics. With such an orientation, the book lacks the fundamental truth necessary to give it worth. Such flashes of truth as illuminate the pages of this book are not sufficient to dispel the gloom resulting from the rejection of absolute values. Since the author has such an erroneous understanding of the nature of man and of reality, his ideas on the use of history suffer acordingly. What he has to say about the pleasures of history, about the relation of history and culture, history and education, etc., are of value only out of context.

The lack of proper orientation due to the rejection of theology and metaphysics, and consequently of any teleology in history, is the radical fault with this book. But it is by no means the only serious one. The book abounds in unwarranted assumptions, gratuitous assertions, illogical generalizations, to say nothing of cynicism and patronage. These defects are so serious that they cannot be compensated for by the fact that the volume does possess a considerable lucidity and gracefulness of style. (FERGUS MACDONALD)

SCHARGO, NELLY NOÉMIE. *History in the Encyclopédie.* (New York: Columbia University Press. 1947. Pp. 251. $3.00.)

This thesis sets out to test—one is tempted to say to refute—"Faguet's opinion which sums up the majority of 19th century writers that history was but an empty and somewhat bitter pastime for the Encyclopedists, and that they were directly responsible for the chill which fell upon historical studies between 1760 and 1815." The task is accomplished to the evident satisfaction of the author who, while too often giving the impression of pulling the evidence her own way, grants that the writers of the articles on history in the *Encyclopédie* "did not add much to historical science," but she does claim that they assigned great importance "to scientific method in history," looked on it as "a universal teacher of mankind, and, to a certain degree, the instrument of progress," as well as "the handmaiden of the philosopher's task in the attainment of his goal." She stresses particularly "the care which they took to present history from the social, economic, and intellectual rather than from the political angle," and the fact that "their historical horizon tends to embrace the universe." These conclusions are reached after four chapters which treat: "The Encyclopedists' Method of History," "Types of History: Ecclesiastical and Civil," "Types of History: Literary," and "Interpretation and Role of History."

While not denying that there may be considerable truth in the points which the author makes, the appendix in which are listed: "The articles directly used for text," may be considered more suggestive. There are about 1000 articles of which about 325 are by Diderot, 290 by de Jaucourt, 164 by Boucher d'Argis, and seventy-eight by Mallet. This leaves only about 130 articles by others of whom about

forty-three quite unknown write from one to three. In fact, outside of Diderot, the only well known contributors are d'Alembert with sixteen articles, and a few collaborations, d'Holbach with seven, Voltaire with seven, Marmontel with six, Turgot with two, and Rousseau with one. On the other hand, in Volumes IX to XVII, de Jaucourt writes practically all the articles with some help from Boucher d'Argis. Evidently generalizations made on such a basis must remain very dubious. More pertinent would have been a chapter on "Hack-work in the *Encyclopédie*," a complete study of the background of de Jaucourt and Boucher and of their methods, a chapter on the attitudes of the miscellaneous writers, and a chapter on those of the well-known writers with a special study of Diderot's. (Louis J. A. Mercier)

Schwarzchild, Leopold. *The Red Prussian: The Life and Legend of Karl Marx.* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1947. Pp. xii, 422. $4.00.)

Henry Ford is reputed to have said, "History is bunk." If ever such a statement had even the appearance of truth it is because books like *The Red Prussian* have been allowed to defame the good name of history.

A critical review of an historical biography demands that the references first be checked. Assuredly the source material promises a great deal. This work is based in great part on the *Max-Engels Gesamt-Ausgabe,* a collection which contains all the known correspondence between Marx and Engels. Knowing this, the reader is beguiled into assuming that this book will lay bare the "inners" of the man Marx. But it seems that our biographer tries to prove too much.

Not only does Schwarzchild lay bare the "inners" of Marx; he tears him limb from limb, and when on page 407 the surgery is completed, the reader is left wondering how this revolutionary figure was ever able to carve for himself a niche in history at all. He does not need a biographer, let alone deserve one. According to Schwarzchild, Marx's life admits of simple explanation: as a man, he was unfit for human society; as a thinker, he should have been relegated to a home for mental defectives; as a writer, he deserves praise only for his skillfully concealed plagiarism. Unfortunately for Schwarzchild, however, even the high school historian knows an overdrawn picture when he sees one.

In a book about Marx we find too little Marx. The eccentric German thinker is not allowed to do much talking since Schwarzchild does most of it. When Marx is quoted directly, the author is careful not to let him say too much, and the reader is frequently at a loss to discover on what source Schwarzchild bases his text. After several hundred pages of reading, this reviewer received the impression that fiction was allowed to mix with fact. The correspondence was complete but even then a great many things were left unexplained. This did not stop the biographer. He was able to supply his own answers. This is obvious when he tells us what Jenny Marx thought about her husband, Karl.

The book will have great appeal to those who are looking for a readable, well-written, simplified study of a man who haunted the dreams of his age and our own. But the volume will leave cold the serious student who is looking for the formula which made Marx so important to history that even Schwarzchild himself calls this "the Marxian era." For *The Red Prussian* is not really a life. It is a legend. (George A. Kelly)

SEDGWICK, HENRY DWIGHT. *Horace. A Biography.* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1947. Pp. 182. $3.00.)

It is not difficult to believe that the effort Mr. Sedgwick expended on this little volume was truly a labor of love. Because of it, the book will undoubtedly enrich the lives of many other 'worshippers' at the throne of Horace. The charm of this latest Horatian portrait lies, of course, not in new discovery but in the skillful handling of the old materials borrowed from the works of the poet himself. While watching the author at his work, we are given some new readings of old and familiar lines, together with a running commentary which, while not pretending to be exhaustive, is always interesting and sometimes very illuminating. It is precisely here that the real value of Mr. Sedgwick's book is to be found, and it is surely more than enough to justify its publication.

It may be misleading to call this work a portrait. Perhaps synthetic photography would be more exact, since in building up his picture of Horace the man, the author uses exclusively the quick glimpses of himself which Horace interspersed so liberally throughout songs and satires. Properly grouped, they are supposed to reveal to us his character, his personality. One must confess that Mr. Sedgwick's final synthesis presents a man of great charm, the well-nigh perfect gentleman.

Now, no one would wish to deny that in his writings Horace speaks of all the endearing charms of personality with reference, esteem, and admiration, that the principles he lays down for the good life, while thoroughly pagan in their motivation, present a remarkably high ethics. This is no doubt the prime reason why he has been and will ever remain for many the pagan poet of preference. But may one not ask whether it is entirely licit to conclude therefrom that Horace was in all respects the delightful man his art succeeded in portraying? Perhaps he was, and we are definitely inclined in his favor. But have we a right to be so sure as Mr. Sedgwick seems to be? There are several reasons that would suggest a good deal of caution. First, to the extent in which the lovable character traits are claimed by Horace himself, they might be somewhat suspect, since we are all inclined to give ourselves the best impression we can. Secondly, there is the inevitable gap between our abstract principles and our conduct. Even the greatest of the Christian saints found it necessary to confess how far short they fell of the standards they had so whole-heartedly embraced. A third reason is a very disturbing remark made by Suetonius in his *De viris illustribus,* which he published a little more than 100 years after the death of Horace. In it he wrote of Horace: "It is said that he was immoderately lustful. . . ."(Cf. Loeb Classical Library, *Suetonius,* II, 488.). Whether Suetonius was echoing truth or rumor, no one will ever be able to say with complete certainty. But if the statement is true, then many of the laudable qualities attributed to Horace the man must be denied him, even the virtues of temperance and moderation. For these same reasons Mr. Sedgwick's vigorous defense of Horace's disinterested admiration for Caesar Augustus, while excellent indeed, does not automatically remove every shadow of honest doubt. Be this as it may, there is obviously a fallacy lurking in the method employed in this and similar works on Horace the man which calls for much more reserve than has hitherto been shown.

In his prologue, Mr. Sedgwick states that Horace's fame prevailed over many enemies, and among these he enumerates "the piety of Christianity." This sentence is misleading. What he undoubtedly means is that Horace survived, notwithstanding the fact that most of the early Christian writers, looking on Horace for what he surely was, a thorough-going pagan, preferred to ignore him. However, even in the days of death struggle between paganism and Christianity there were always some among the Christian writers who used Horace and admired him—to mention only a few, Lactantius, Jerome, Prudentius, and Fuldonatus. But what is much more important is that it was eventually Christianity alone, through its devoted and painstaking monks, that saved Horace from utter oblivion.

Whatever we may come to think of Horace the man, as drawn by Mr. Sedgwick and others before him, is certainly far less important than what we think of Horace the writer. It may sound like paradox, but truth it is, that it is not Horace the man but Horace the writer that is the genial companion, the witty entertainer, the friendly sage, and the honored guest in the homes of his admirers. Mr. Sedgwick's little book should serve to bring new joy to old friends of Horace and induce many others to take him to their hearts. (LOUIS A. ARAND)

SIMON, YVES R. *Community of the Free.* Translated by W. R. TRASK. (New York: Henry Holt and Co. 1947. Pp. xi, 172. $3.00.)

This volume aims to set right the present "confusion of conscience." There are four chapters: Freedom in Daily Life; Secret Sources of the Success of the Racist Ideology; Pessimism and the Philosophy of Progress; and Socialism and the Democracy of the Common Man. Professor Simon strives to expose the techniques of those seeking to corrupt public morality. His reference is mainly to the nazis. But why expose them *now?* The author sets down his positive contribution as follows: "Love of the laws, inner respect for authority and for those invested with it, contribute most effectively towards making the sense of the common welfare present in each man's consciousness. . . .It is for the sake of the common welfare that the free man accords respect and love to laws and authorities. . . .Inner, rational, virtuous submission proceeds from a principle which is the great factor of unity; this submission is the foundation of a community of free men." (p. 25)

Professor Simon gives the impression of writing under two great handicaps. First, he unconsciously reveals that he is French in his thinking. Most of his allusions are French. He has a fine sense of fairness and of justice, yet Americans would not agree that classic democracy began after the fall of Napoleon (p. 87). Rousseau decidedly did not influence Jefferson in the writing of our Declaration of Independence (p. 90). The author does not make the claim, but overrates Rousseau's influence *here.* Second, granted that the author competently analyzes socialism, he does not appear to realize the more healthy and sane attitude of labor in this country toward religion. We are not perfect, by any means, yet there is far more respect for the dignity of man and of labor in this country than in Europe. Since the author aims to clear up the confusion of conscience, and since he advocates a moral pessimism which he defines as "depth of moral intelligence" (p. 121) he should have brought out the recognition given to the

dignity of man in the second paragraph of the Declaration. That is something to which he could appeal in this country in the interests of the general welfare. (WILLIAM H. RUSSELL)

SITWELL, EDITH. *Fanfare for Elizabeth.* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1946. Pp. 227. $2.50.)

This is more a story of the court of Henry VIII than it is the history of Elizabeth. There are flashes in the story of Wolsey, Cranmer, Cromwell and the Seymour brothers. Anne Boleyn, Lady Bryane, Mary, Jane Seymour, and Katherine Parr flit in and out of the narrative. One sees very little of Elizabeth herself. The background against which her life was projected is the principal theme. One wonders whether or not it would have been better to change the title to something suggesting the theme of the book. A reader gets the impression that this was written with the idea that possibly the English "Hollywood" might use it for a film. It would make an excellent setting.

It is unfortunate that Miss Sitwell describes Catherine of Aragon as "this saintly yet narrow woman." Why was she "narrow?" No doubt because she would not assent to Henry's profligacies. That would hardly be called "narrow" in a Christian vocabulary; it might in Hollywood.

There is one illustration in the book. It is the "Ermine" Portrait at Hatfield. Since this is a story of Elizabeth's girlhood days and this portrait is one of her mature years, it does not seem to be a very happy choice. There is no bibliography nor index in the book. (EDWARD V. CARDINAL)

SLICK, SEWELL ELIAS. *William Trent and the West.* (Harrisburg: Archives Publishing Company of Pennsylvania, Inc. Pp. vii, 188. $3.50.)

This book is a doctoral thesis of the University of Pittsburgh. It was written under the direction of Professor Alfred P. James, an authority in western Pennsylvania history. It has no footnotes but a rich bibliography (pp. 177-184).

The present biography is a valuable contribution toward a more complete history of the early periods in western Pennsylvania and eastern Ohio; a fertile field for historians. Here the contests between various Indian tribes, especially the Twightwees, the Delawares, Shawnees, and Senecas among themselves and with the French and English colonists, some of whom were even intermarried with these aborigenes or half-breeds, also the opposition between the French and English governments in that locality, and finally the rivalry between Virginia and Pennsylvania, give a constantly changing picture. Glimpses of these events can be seen in W. C. Darlington's *Christopher Gist's Journals,* George Washington's *Diaries,* R. G. Twaits' *Early Western Travels* and others, but one of the colorful characters of that period was undoubtedly Captain William Trent. He first became a merchant, then took part in King George's War, acted as an Indian agent, rose to captaincy in Virginia and Pennsylvania, accepted the office of assistant deputy of William Croghen, the "king of Indian traders," and finally lost most of his fortune as a real estate speculator.

The main part of the narrative is contained in pages 42-126 under the following titles: "His Virginia Commission," "Pennsylvania and Royal Services," "Indian Agent and Trader," "Life around Fort Pitt," and "Seige of Fort Pitt."

William Trent naturally defended the English claims in this struggle with the Indians and French, and generally the author upholds him. However, the various "walking purchases" and the conferences with the Indians after the taking of Fort Duquesne could have been given with greater detail to see the other side of the picture. The notorious "small-pox incident" during the siege of Fort Pitt is related with these words of Major Trent: "Out of our regard to them we gave them two Blankets and one Handkerchief out of our Small Pox Hospital. I hope it will have the desired effect." However, he and his business partners were only carrying out the order of their superiors. As early as May 4, 1763, General J. Amherst had written to Colonel Bouquet: "Could it not be contrived to send the *Small* Pox among these disaffected tribes of Indians . . ." (Bouquet Papers 21634 p. 161.) Then in June, Captain Ecuyer bought from "Levy, Trent and Company: 2 blankets, one silk handkerchief and linen to replace those that were sent to the Indians" (*Ibid.*, 21654 p. 218.) Finally on October 12 Captain Ecuyer endorsed the bill to the crown amounting to 2£ 13s 6d. (*ibid.*, 21654 p. 226).

The book is well printed, the style pleasing, and the reviewer only wishes that others may follow to give similar biographies illustrating the men of that interesting chapter in the history of the colonies. (FELIX FELLNER)

SOLOVETCHIK, GEORGE. *Potemkin: Soldier, Statesman, Lover and Consort of Catherine of Russia.* (New York: W. W. Norton and Co., Inc. 1947. Pp. xiv, 346. $3.50.)

This attractively written volume on the most able of Catherine the Great's favorites represents a refreshing change from the too familiar "romanced biographies" still in fashion. A Russian by birth, Mr. Soloveytchik is now a British citizen, which seems to indicate that he is not in sympathy with the present regime in the country of his birth. Yet recent events there, and elsewhere in Europe, would appear to show that the foreign policy of Marshal Stalin and his subordinates is very much in harmony with that picturesque eighteenth-century Russia of Peter the Great and Catherine II depicted, with a certain nostalgia, in such works as *Potemkin.*

Potemkin was for seventeen years, the most powerful man in Russia. He was also an important and not altogether displeasing example of his race and nationality. The fantastic stories which represent him as a charlatan and a buffoon are of German origin, and have been exposed by the best British authority on eighteenth-century Russia, Robert Nisbett Bain, as "absolutely worthless." Moreover, he has been strangely neglected by western European or American historians. Much the same, of course, might be said of his imperial mistress, the Czarina Catherine, a popular enough subject for biographical romances of the Katharine Anthony kind, but of whom no truly solid and scientific biography exists in English.

Mr. Soloveytchik begins his valuable book by a fine, comprehensive chapter

entitled "The Russian Scene," that panorama of "European refinement blended with Asiatic pomp," which so dazzled English visitors and envoys like Lord Malmesbury who was a great favorite with the ageing czarina. The latter, needless to say, is a formidable rather than attractive figure; yet we believe Mr. Soloveytchik's estimate of Catherine a just one—that there was almost as much maternal instinct in her relations with such favorites as Potemkin and young Plato Zubov as there was sensuality. Potemkin, by the way, was actually her husband through a religious rite, although when they parted amicably, he had to resign her, reluctantly enough, to the somewhat unwilling arms of his youthful rival, the "child" as Catherine significantly called the *gigolo* of her old age.

Potemkin's own end, a few years subsequent, was curious. Locking himself in day and night, he spent his ultimate hours in composing religious verse, "Canons" (?) to the Saviour, reminiscent of the Psalms. On October 12, 1791, at dusk, the courier reached St. Petersburg with the mournful news. When the czarina learned her favorite's death, she had a complete breakdown. Prince Plato Zubov sank into temporary insignificance. "Whom can I rely on now?" she demanded more than once. "And she wept." (CUTHBERT WRIGHT)

SOLOVEYTCHIK, GEORGE. *Russia in Perspective.* (New York: W. W. Norton and Co. 1947. Pp. 244. $3.00.)

It is a relief to find a book on Russia that has not been written by a roving journalist or an army officer attempting to weave the remnants of a few months acquaintance with the Russians into the long-awaited explanation of the Soviet enigma. Accordingly we would suspect that *Russia in Perspective* is a welcome addition to the contemporary literature on Russia. The foreword is written by the distinguished British historian, G. P. Gooch. Therefore, the book promises better things.

However, *Russia in Perspective* is disappointing. It bears all the marks of a pot-boiler written at a time when Russian books were in demand. Not only does this volume lack footnotes and other scholarly apparatus, but it seems to have been painted not with the deft strokes of an artist who can distinguish black from gray but with the broad, sweeping strokes of a house-painter, intent only on getting a task finished.

The main thesis of Professor Soloveytchik's volume is that Russian history is one vast continuity, and that the present conduct of the Soviet Union, especially since the war, marks the resumption of the "march of eternal Russia" to use the phrase of the author. It is to be regretted that this laudable purpose was suspended in the early chapters where the various affairs of Catherine the Great were cataloged in detail that would be out of place in anything but a drug-store pocket-book. When Professor Soloveytchik gets to the Bolshevik Revolution, he is on firmer ground and here he makes Stalin a figure of heroic size who has brought Russia through the vagaries of a revolution to the surer footing of traditional Russian history. Throughout the book personalities are emphasized to the detriment of historical perspective.

There is a detailed index in the volume and a chronological table of the

main events in Russian history and while the latter is a valuable chart for ready reference, the book itself serves only the purpose of a sweeping introduction to Russia. The quotation from Dostoevski on the fly-leaf, "Even the moon is at present more closely investigated than Russia," might well be put on the last page. Unfortunately, *Russia in Perspective* does not minimize the statement of the great Russian novelist even slightly. (RICHARD WALSH)

SUELZER, SISTER MARY JOSEPHINE (Translator and Annotator). *Julianus Pomerius. The Contemplative Life. (De vita contemplativa).* (Westminster, Maryland: Newman Bookshop. 1947. Pp. 220. $2.50.)

This fourth volume of the series, Ancient Christian Writers, offers a work, truly a masterpiece, of a writer who is not a well-known or celebrated figure. In fact, Sister Josephine well asks: "But who other than patrologists and some few theologians even know the name Pomerius (p.3)?" An African by birth who settled in Gaul, Pomerius has written in his, *De vita contemplativa*, a pastoral instruction that takes an honorable rank along with the works of SS. Ambrose, Gregory of Nazianzus, Chrysostom, Jerome, Augustine, and Gregory the Great that deal with the same general topic.

The first two books discuss the ideals of the contemplative and active lives, urge the bishops to combine the two types in their ministry, and discuss the problems besetting those who strive after this union. Although addressed to bishops, the basic principles of the work apply to clerics in general, and it is easy to see how in the ensuing centuries it became a clerical treasure. The third book presents a remarkable treatise on the capital vices and virtues. Here Pomerius shows himself as a keen observer of human nature, a sound psychologist, and a man endowed with a generous measure of common sense. Pomerius concludes with an apology for the work. However, no apology is needed for a treatise with a message that is as fresh, vital, and necessary for the twentieth century as it was for the end of the fifth or the beginning of the sixth century. In the twentieth century it will appeal to clerics of all grades who will find in it a wealth of information and inspiration for their spiritual and pastoral lives; to Christians in general, in the practice of virtue and the development of a Christ-like life; to those interested in the problems of ascetical and mystical theology; and to sociologists who will discover instructive matter on the social aspects of justice, wealth, and possessions.

In the introduction Sister Josephine interestingly high-lights the problems that are necessary as background for an intelligent reading of the work. The translation is clear, idiomatic, and well done. In the heading for chapter 21 of the first book (p. 44) the use of the word "carnally" is not a happy rendering. Both the Latin and the context would justify some phrase as "who lead an earthly life." Again, "flux of the body" (p. 115) is somewhat stilted and archaic. The notes, extremely helpful and scholarly, lead the way for the solution of some interesting problems. All in all, from the externals of the format to the thoroughness of the index this is a model work, one which is a credit to the publisher, the editors, and the translator—annotator. (ALFRED C. RUSH)

THOMPSON, ELEANOR WOLF. Faculty of Philadelphia High School for Girls. *Education for Ladies, 1830-1860. Ideas on Education in Magazines for Women.* (New York: Columbia University Press. 1947. Pp. ix, 170. $2.75.)

Eleanor Wolf Thompson has written another chapter in the history of education in her scholarly and interesting study of *Education for Ladies.* The book is a masterly presentation of the trend of educational thought between the years of 1830-1860, a period of great social reform and of humanitarianism. The educational developments of the period were of extreme importance to women whose educational rights were tardily recognized. Education at that time was regarded as of service to woman to the extent to which it prepared her specifically for her "sphere," the home, that was to be built primarily to minister to the needs of childhood. The philosophy of education was rooted in the religious concepts of the time; whatever changes were necessary for political or other reasons the ideal remained the development of the woman of fine character whose chief interests were directed toward the attainment of life's higher purposes. After the first reading of the book one is wistfully aware of divergences from this trend, that have brought rather lamentable results through the broadening of woman's "sphere" in the modern world.

The delineation of the part played by journalists, and a host of ladies' magazines in effecting woman's educational right is a complete surprise to the casual reader. Wielding a pen mightier than the sword, these editors, both men and women, flung the challenge for woman's education by defining the need and defending the aim as a power to help the individual to develop into a well-rounded person, physically, mentally, morally, and spiritually. Already in these decades as today, women were leaders and patrons of education and other civic interests.

Although the book is scholarly, it is entertaining enough to appeal to the general reader for it abounds in human interest. The specific details are of more interest than the main themes. While no attempt is made to eulogize the editors of the mid-nineteenth century, the main issue of the book is to establish their place among the factors contributing to the growth of education and the establishment of educational institutions.

The book in its entirety merits high commendation. The pithy summary paragraphs which conclude each of the eleven chapters are to be specially commended. There is a complete index and an extensive critical bibliography of both original sources and modern works. (SISTER M. IMMACULATA KRAMER)

THOMPSON, ROBERT LUTHER. *Wiring a Continent: the History of the Telegraph Industry in the United States, 1832-1866.* (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1947. Pp. xviii, 544. $7.50.)

Based upon ten years of research by Mr. Thompson, corporation expert and historian, this is the first of two volumes comprising a definitive history of the telegraph industry. The second volume is now in preparation. The author takes the development of the telegraph from its first conception in the mind of Samuel F. B. Morse through its infancy as a novelty, its adolescence as the tool of wildly

competing companies, to its arrival at maturity as our first great industrial monopoly.

At the outset a government experiment in communication, the telegraph speedily passed into the hands of private enterprise, whereupon followed an "era of methodless enthusiasm." Beginning with a few crude and inefficient lines along the eastern seaboard in 1846, the industry mushroomed into a vast network of lines throughout the nation in the next two decades. "From a business with a few hundred miles of wire connecting several of the chief business centers of the country. . . ." it evolved in twenty short, turbulent years to one "with more than 100,000 miles of wire connecting nearly every village and town of any significance in the United States." By a process of trial and error, ruinous to many of the rival companies and very costly to all of them, the inescapable problems attendant upon the rise of an entirely new industry were gradually solved. In the first years working capital was scarce, administration inexperienced and erratic, and the actual service to the public intermittent at best. Technical difficulties, prior to the emergence of electrical engineering as a developed science, were legion. It seems feasible, however, that the competitive spirit under private enterprise effected a more rapid advance of the industry into a technically well-functioning communication system than would have been possible under a governmental monopoly. The growth of monopoly appeared evident after 1853 in the many consolidations until by 1866 the Western Union became the nation's first great industrial monopoly and largest corporation.

The author has utilized effectively an immense amount of source material much of it hitherto unexploited, to write a monumental piece of economic history. Annotation is exhaustive and the index and bibliography are excellent. The chapters on the growth of interdependence of the telegraph and railroad, and on the rise of the Associated Press, are particularly valuable. (ROBERT E. CARSON)

TULLY, ANDREW. *Era of Elegance.* (New York: Funk & Wagnalls Co. 1947. Pp. xii, 232. $3.00.)

The multimillionaires of the period between 1865 and 1914—the pre-graduated income tax and pre-inheritance tax period—built magnificent mansions, filled them with *objets d'art* ransacked from Europe's great houses, entertained lavishly, and spent their declining years in elegant comfort. Andrew Tully, whose career in the newspaper world has brought him from Southbridge, Massachusetts, by way of Boston, to the staff of the New York *World-Telegram*, is aided by twenty-six full-page photographs in describing the more striking features of the monuments to Mammon owned by thirteen of the financially famous families of the United States. Some of these families were Society, others were not; but, Society or not, the morgue of the New York *World-Telegram*, which the author used very freely, furnishes sufficient evidence to conclude that their skill in displaying their millions was highly developed, and that it was, indeed, an "Era of Elegance."

The style is typical of that employed by the newspaper feature writer. Many stories are introduced without any indication of the source from which the quotations are taken. Profanity mars a number of pages. "No. 1 East Ninety-

first Street" should read "No. 2 East Ninety-first Street" (p. 118). It would have been more accurate to indicate the price at which the Schwab mansion was sold to the Prudential Insurance Company of America as "in excess of $1,250,000" (New York *Times*, October 18, 1947), rather than as exactly "$1,250,000" (p. 167).

The volume has no footnotes, no bibliography, and no index. (PATRICK H. AHERN)

VANN, GERALD, O.P., *Saint Thomas Aquinas*. With a Foreword by CHARLES A. HART. (New York: Benziger Bros. 1947. Pp. xxvii, 185. $3.00.)

It can be said without irreverence that of books on St. Thomas there is no end. He is a subject of perennial interest. That Father Gerald Vann should write one is rather inevitable, and ought, perhaps, to evoke a thrill, since a book by Vann is usually thought-full and thought-provoking. This one is no exception, though by far it is not the best the author has written. He is very weak on history, in error on some details, and misses nuances that sometimes change the whole view of a scene.

However, in a book written for the general public, and specifically for the non-Catholic reader, he has succeeded well in developing the central thesis, that in St. Thomas the world finds blended the East and the West, the natural and the supernatural, in a synthesis never equaled in all history. To illustrate this, Father Vann prefaces his study of the Angelic Doctor with a lengthy analysis and interpretation, à la Dawson and Berdyaev, of the decline of the West and the universal need for a full re-integration of human forces and culture. For him, St. Thomas is *the* physician needed today, the one man of all times in whom the complete synthesis will be found and who, therefore, can furnish the remedy demanded: "The message of St. Thomas was never more vital, never more needed, and never more opportune than today" (p. 159).

The work was originally published in England in 1941 ($1.70) and is now put out in an American edition with the addition of a foreword on "Neo-Scholastic Philosophy in American Catholic Culture," by Dr. Charles A. Hart of the Catholic University of America. It will help to introduce St. Thomas to American readers, non-Catholic or Catholic, who might know little of the great Doctor of the Schools. (IGNATIUS BRADY)

VERGNE, YVONNE DE LA. *Madame Elisabeth of France*. Translated by Cornelia C. Craigie. (St. Louis: B. Herder Book Co. 1947. Pp. xviii, 416. $4.00.)

This translation presents to the general public Yvonne de la Vergne's simplified account of the life of the saintly sister of Louis XVI of France, based chiefly upon the highly-documented work of Sister Marie Aimée of the Sacred Heart, *Une grande chrétienne: Mme Elisabeth de France (1764-1794)*. In addition to this material, the author used unpublished letters and published documents relative to the French Revolution, which the translator lists at the beginning of the book. In view of the purpose of his task, the author gave citations but rarely. A satisfactory index appears at the end.

In evident sympathy with the royalist cause in the French Revolution, the author depicted in simple language the life of renunciation of Madame Elisabeth, whose cause of canonization was agitated in 1929 by Sister Marie Aimée of the Sacred Heart. The facts in the life of Elisabeth of France were not particularly significant, but her character and personality command attention. When every aspiration of her soul inclined her to a life in religion, Elizabeth remained at court, out of deference to her royal brother's wishes and needs, and in the midst of this worldly atmosphere she pursued a life of lofty virtue. She excelled in her chosen office of sisterly devotedness; she won the love and affection of all classes by her personal integrity and her self-sacrificing charities; she inspired and sustained beautiful and loyal friendships. One of the charms of the biography lies in the inclusion of many of her letters, which reveal her strong Catholicity, rare spiritual wisdom, her tender and quiet humor, and the warmth of her affection. Unlike Louis XVI's character, that of his sister was strong as well as virtuous. In May, 1794, she closed on the guillotine in dignity and serenity a life that had been "fertile in renunciation joyfully accomplished" (p. 59).

A defect in de la Vergne's work is the detailed narration of already well-known incidents of the Revolution in which the subject of the biography seemed at times almost to disappear. For the type of work that it is, it has, however, real value and merit and its translation into English should be welcomed. (AGNES MURPHY)

VERNON, IDA STEVENSON WELDON. *Pedro de Valdivia, Conquistador of Chile.* (Austin: University of Texas Press. 1946. Pp. 193. $2.25.)

Issued as Volume III of the Latin-American Studies series of the Institute of Latin-American Studies at the University of Texas, this brief biography assembles the information available on Vildivia. It is based chiefly on the documents published by José Toribio Medina in the *Colección de documentos inéditos para la historia de Chile* and on sixteenth-century histories. Pedro de Valdivia secured authority from Pizarro to explore and conquer Chile after it was abandoned by Almagro as an impossible land. Handicapped by lack of men and supplies, Valdivia struggled against the elements and the Indians in Chile from 1540 to 1553. The financing of the first expedition was difficult since Valdivia's own wealth was by no means sufficient to supply all the equipment. The problem of securing men was even greater and the expedition left Cuzco with only a few members, others joining it along the way until the party approximated the complement usually attributed to it. There was dissension among the men, fostered largely by Pedro Sancho de Hoz who had contested Valdivia's right to command while still in Cuzco and who, after an unsuccessful attempt to murder Valdivia during a night encampment in the desert, was pardoned by the commander and permitted to remain with the expedition. Several years were required to establish Santiago successfully, but after 1544 Valdivia could turn his attention to further conquest. The rest of his life, with the exception of the time spent in Peru in a vain attempt to obtain the title of Governor of Chile, was spent in pushing the Indians farther south and

in establishing more settlements. Valdivia was captured by the Indians late in 1553 and killed shortly after that, a victim of his own overconfidence and underestimation of the ability of the Indians.

Only meager facts are available on the early life of Valdivia but a logical chronology has been arrived at through comparison of conflicting sources. The work is of necessity primarily concerned with the years of Valdivia's activity in Chile. It gives a detailed, and at times, a vivid picture of the settlement of that area. Valdivia is clearly defined as the force behind the early development of Chile; in other aspects his personality remains somewhat blurred. (JANE HERRICK)

WALSH, WILLIAM THOMAS. *Our Lady of Fátima.* (New York: Macmillan Co. 1947. Pp. ix, 227. $2.75.)

In recent years there has been a growing interest in the apparitions of the Blessed Virgin to the three shepherd children in Portugal in 1917. Even in the twentieth century such events cannot go unnoticed, and all but the most confirmed sceptic and unbeliever will show some interest in the accounts of the apparitions. Interest in manifestations of the supernatural inevitably arouses a curiosity which demands satisfaction. Any writer who would satisfy the sceptics must give proof that he seeks objectivity, and give evidence that he presents a dispassionate account of the facts as they actually happened. This is the task which Mr. Walsh undertook when he decided to investigate the accounts of the apparitions at Fátima.

Like so many others, the author of *Our Lady of Fátima* became interested in the accounts of what took place near the Portuguese town. After reading all the available accounts, Mr. Walsh could not escape the conclusion that these accounts tended to confuse rather than to inform. Consequently, he set out for Fátima with the intention of visiting the site of the apparitions and interviewing those who were more intimately connected with the events that had taken place in 1917. Fortunately, the author had the opportunity of conversing with Lucia Abóbora, now Sister Maria of the Sorrows, who had been the principal witness of the apparitions.

As a result of this thorough investigation, the author has been able to present the English-speaking public with an excellent account of the history of the apparitions of Our Lady at Fátima. He brings to his task a wealth of experience in historical narration as well as a deep understanding of the backgrounds of the people whose testimony he presents. Although there is no doubt of the author's personal conviction in the matter of the apparitions, he never allows his conviction to hinder his effort to present an objective appraisal of the events which took place at Fátima in 1917. The author's store of historical knowledge coupled with his narrative style makes the work very interesting, and the thoroughness with which he conducted his investigation makes his conclusions convincing to all who read the book with an open mind. (HAROLD L. STANSELL)

WEBER, MAX. *The Theory of Social and Economic Organization.* Translated by A. M. HENDERSON and TALCOTT PARSONS. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1947. Pp. x, 436. $6.00.)

The Oxford University Press seems greatly interested in making Max Weber better known to American social thinkers. Following upon the Gerth and Mills collection of Weber's sociological essays comes this work edited by Talcott Parsons, professor of sociology at Harvard University.

The present work is nothing more than a translation of Max Weber's *Wirtschaft and Gesellschaft.* It is probably the German sociologist's most important contribution to that school of thought which is labled *die verstehende Soziologie.* According to Weber, sociology is "a science which attempts the interpretive understanding of social action in order thereby to arrive at a causal explanation of its course and effects." By means of "ideal types" Weber sought to explain society in strictly scientific terms. Besides containing fundamental concepts of sociology, *Wirtschaft and Gesellschaft* manifests the author's debt to Karl Marx. Although Weber frequently disagreed violently with the father of communism on questions of social reform, there was little disagreement on many points of social analysis. Weber, like Marx, laid great emphasis on the relation between economic structure and social order. For this reason, his most famous book contains the theory both of social and economic organization.

Probably the most interesting section in the work deals with Weber's analysis of private property, its origin, development, and future. Like Marx, Weber sees class conflict between owners and workers under capitalism flowing from the system of private ownership. For him private ownership of the non-human means of production was nothing more than a monopoly of certain advantages which owners later called "rights." Weber sees nothing wrong in this, since such a monopoly is essential to industrial efficiency and production. The conflict arose, however, when owners, not satisfied with the monopoly over the non-human factors of production, extended their control over the workers, who were the human agents of production. This meant that labor was not free labor. The best combination, he thought, was monopoly control by owners of all but the human agents in production, with labor "formally free." Weber, however, does not explain how the workers can remain free. He points out that labor unions and producers' co-operatives do not solve the dilemma of the individual worker. The most that the worker can obtain through these associations is the appropriation of important elements of control over the non-human elements of production, and the development of "rights" which will protect workers from the absolutistic power of owners and managers.

Talcott Parsons has written a lengthy introduction by way of unifying the scattered Weberian thoughts. But to this reviewer it appears that the scattered Weber is more understandable than the concentrated Parsons. Neither of them knows how to write simply. (GEORGE A. KELLY)

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Brooks, Clinton E., and Frank D. Reeve (Eds.), *Forts and Forays. James A. Bennett: A Dragon in New Mexico, 1850-1856.* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press. 1948. Pp. 85. $1.75.)

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There has long been a need for an up-to-date textbook for high school courses in world civilization which would take cognizance of the Catholic philosophy of history. Professors Corbett and Fitzsimons of the University of Notre Dame, and Father Ostheimer of Roman Catholic High School in Philadelphia have supplied that need in this attractively illustrated volume. The usual aids to good teaching are all here. The volume is one in the Catholic Social Studies Series, edited by Father Charles J. Mahoney, Superintendent of Schools of the Diocese of Rochester.

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Johnson, Humphrey J. T., *The Bible and Early Man.* (New York: Declan X. McMullen Co. 1948. Pp. ix, 159. $2.25.)

Journals and Indian Paintings of George Winter, 1837-1839. (Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Society. 1948. Pp. xix, 208. $12.50.)

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Moreau, E. de., and A. de Ghellinck, *Circonscriptions ecclésiastiques. Chapitres, abbayes, couvents en Belgique avant 1559.* [Histoire de l'Eglise en Belgique, Tome Complémentaire I, Texte; Cartes.] (Bruxelles: L'Edition Universelle. 1948. Pp. vi, 520.)

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